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Chapter One

THE LONG MARCH

1. Sources 2. The Nguni background 3. Foundation of the State 4. The residential system 5. Under Zwangendaba's leadership 6. Fission 7. Mpezeni's kingdom 8. Foreign policy

1. *Sources*

WHAT WE usually have in mind when we speak of a tribe or nation or empire is a large political unit enduring in time and space. The nation outlives its members, for as they grow old and die their children and grandchildren rise up to take their places. On its fringes there may be continual fluctuations, adjustments of boundaries and migrations of people, but always the majority of the population are born within the national territory and die within it as their ancestors have done before them. There is spatial continuity as well as biological continuity, and the same areas of land, sometimes even the same houses and fields, are occupied and cultivated by successive generations. The Ngoni State, whose history is the subject of this book, was clearly not a state of this kind. It was born suddenly, moved about from one part of Africa to another, and recruited most of its members from outside itself. Only at the end of the nineteenth century, when colonial rule was imposed by Europeans, was the migration of the Ngoni as an organised group brought to an end. Even so, the social and economic development of modern central Africa has ensured that the men and women who [illegible] live in Ngoni tribal areas, fixed though these have become, are now part of a wider social system within which they travel great distances in search of work and of kinsmen, wives and friends. Yet despite these differences the Ngoni State, like other states and polities, has had structural, or institutional, continuity. It is an enduring organised social group with a history. The same forms of social organization have endured despite changes in space and despite biological discontinuity; and where these forms have changed there has been continuity even in change.

This history of the Ngoni from 1821 down to 1898 is essentially the history of an armed nation on the march. Our knowledge of it

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is limited by the fact that the Ngoni themselves were without writing, and their warlike disposition discouraged the visits of travellers who might otherwise have left some record of Ngoni life during those times. There is a considerable body of oral tradition which has been reduced to writing since 1891, but for the most part these traditional tales assume a knowlege of Ngoni life and do not explicitly describe it. Our evidence for the main features of Ngoni society during this period of migration is found in three places. First we have the pattern of relationships prevailing at the present time between groups of Ngoni, between villages, chiefdoms and kingdoms. The legends which form the charter of these relations form a coherent and largely consistent corpus of traditional knowledge about events taking place within the last hundred and fifty years from which we can make reliable inferences about the internal history of the Ngoni. In particular we can gain significant information about the manner in which different groups were formed by elucidating the names applied to them. A modified form of genealogical inquiry, applied not to physiological ancestry but to links between dependant and lord and between satellite and parent villages, provides us with a reasonably trustworthy history of inter-group relations.

Secondly, there is the evidence available from the numerous published accounts of Ngoni life which have been written by European and African authors. The traditions they record can be used to supplement the data gained from an analysis of present-day legends. A little information can be gleaned from the traditional histories of tribes attacked by the Ngoni.

Thirdly, we have a certain amount of comparative evidence from other societies. There are about a dozen distinct Ngoni kingdoms in different parts of Africa at the present time. In this book [illegible] only one of these groups, now situated near Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia. Much light is, however, thrown on its history by accounts of other Ngoni States, particularly of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, where the old form of society persisted longer than at Fort Jameson and where even now the changes brought about by colonial rule seem not to be so great. Accounts of Ngoni groups farther afield, and of the allied societies of the Swazi and Zulu in South Africa provide less direct evidence.

A few isolated events in early Ngoni history can be dated precisely. Captain Cutfield, R.N., met a group of Ngoni on 7 November 1822 and some Ngoni warriors skirmished with the

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Portuguese at Delagoa Bay on 2 August 1823.[1] There was a solar eclipse on the day the Ngoni crossed the Zambezi, an event which may therefore be reliably dated 20 November 1835.[2] Livingstone and other explorers also provide us with dates. For example, Burton was in the vicinity when Ngoni raided Ujiji in 1858.[3] These evidences enable us to construct a comparatively good chronology for the Ngoni from 1821 onwards, but they do not directly tell us much about the form of Ngoni society.

Livingstone (1857, 1865, 1880), Cameron (1877) and Young (1877) mention the Ngoni under various names but tell us little except that the Ngoni were raiding continually. These early travellers were unable to make close contact with the Ngoni, mainly because of the unwillingness of their African carriers, and it is not until 1881 that the Fort Jameson Paramount Chief, Mpezeni, is mentioned by name, in Stewart's account. Wiese reached Mpezeni in 1886, or perhaps a few years earlier, and in 1891 he published the first detailed account of Zwangendaba's people. Other pre-conquest visitors to Mpezeni who published were Money and Smith (1897) and Deare (who did not publish until 1928), and Johnston's account (1897) is derived from them and from their contemporaries. Early accounts of tribal history were written by Laws (1893), Elmslie (1897), both of them missionaries with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, by Decle (1898), an explorer, and by Maples and other missionaries working near the Ngoni of Songea District, Tanganyika Territory, and northern Mozambique, who published in *Occasional papers for Nyasaland* (1893) and *The Nyasa News* (1893-5). There are many post-conquest accounts, the most important being those of Stigand (1907 and 1909), Nkonjera (1911-12), Stannus (1922), Young (1923 and 1932), Hodgson (1933), Poole (1934), Hatchell (1935 and 1948), Read (1936 Oswarus), Lancaster (1937), Winterbottom (1937 and 1950), Kapunzah (1941), Bruwer (1941) and Chibambo (1942). All these writers have in part drawn directly on oral tradition. Useful collations have been made by Werner (1906), Murray (1922), Abraham (1932), Bradley (1940) and Tew (1950). Bryant's masterly account of Zulu history (1929) contains in addition a

[1] Owen, *Narrative*, i, pp. 80, 121, 142*f*, 255, 258, 271. All citations will give abbreviated titles only of the works concerned, while full details of all works cited will be found in the bibliographies at the end of the volume.

[2] cf. Poole, 'Crossing of the Zambesi', pp. 290*ff*. Poole gives the date as 19 November. This seems to be based on a misinterpretation of the astronomical, as distinct from the civil, date. Young, *History*, p. 110, gives the date correctly. cf. *Nautical almanac*, 1835, 2nd ed., p. 470.

[3] Burton, *Lake regions*, ii, pp. 72*f*.

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second-hand account of the Ngoni, and some relevant information is given by Soga (1930).

Good accounts of pre-conquest social life are not so numerous. The most useful accounts are those of Wiese (1891 and 1900), Angus (1899), and Deare (1928), based on observations in the years immediately prior to the war of 1898. For the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland there are the works of Elmslie (1899) and Fraser (1901 and 1914). Read, in 1935, was the first to apply modern methods of inquiry and has published comparative material on the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, Fort Jameson and southern Nyasaland, and on the neighbouring Cewa.

Some of this literature has found its way back to the Ngoni themselves, and children nowadays acquire their knowledge of the exploits of their ancestors as much from school books as from oral tradition. Under these circumstances, I decided that no useful purpose would be served by my trying to make conventional inquiries into tribal history with the aim of establishing what had in fact occurred in the past. I found it was impossible to tell whether similarity between an informant's account of a past event and a previously published version was due to common origin, independent invention, or good teaching in school. I was however concerned with the quite different problem of what use the Ngoni made of their history,[4] and I collected the histories of many counties, villages and people. For the material in this chapter I have therefore relied on the fullest and most lucid of these many versions of Ngoni history, that by Chibambo, an Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, supplemented by the writings of Poole, a member of the Administration at Fort Jameson for many years, and Lancaster, who was a game warden in the area.

a. The Nguni background

Before we can understand the Ngoni of central Africa we must first consider social conditions farther south, for it was from the south that many Ngoni came. From the sixteenth century onwards, south-eastern Africa was peopled by subsistence cultivators growing cereals and herding cattle. The Nguni, as the southernmost branch of these peoples is now called, occupied the area which has become Swaziland, Natal and the Transkei. At first the Nguni were not organized into powerful states but from the common background of Nguni society there developed, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century onwards, several strong political units. We may mention among others the Zulu empire under Shaka, the Swazi

[4] See my 'History in a changing society'.

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kingdom under Sobhuza I and Mswati and the various Ngoni States. Despite their common social and cultural origin these emergent polities had each its distinctive features. The special characteristics of Ngoni society are at least in part understandable as due to the differences in its social environment as compared with Zulu and Swazi. The Ngoni were migrants, whereas Zulu and Swazi were not. The Ngoni captured a large number of men and women of non-Nguni origin who were assimilated into the Ngoni State as individuals, whereas for the most part the Zulu and Swazi States expanded by the incorporation of existing social groups as groups, not as individuals, and these groups, if not all Nguni in origin, at least belonged to closely allied peoples.

Thus to set the Ngoni in proper perspective we must begin with a brief description of their Nguni forebears. In the eighteenth century the Nguni were grouped into a large number of small chiefdoms each containing a dominant agnatic lineage segment to which the chief belonged. Each chiefdom contained segments of other lineages, and most lineages had segments in a number of chiefdoms, one segment being dominant in its chiefdom. Lineages were exogamous, their members were graded in terms of primogeniture and the ranking of wives, and as a result of quarrels segments transferred their allegiance from one chief to another or even founded new chiefdoms. Most residential settlements were small, containing only the agnatic descendants of a living man, with their wives and children, and were divided into three sections or 'houses', led by the great, right- and left-hand wives of the polygynous head of the settlement. There were also larger homesteads containing the dwellings of chiefs and other members of the dominant lineage as well as those of many genealogically unrelated dependants. The chief was assisted by his agnatic kinsmen and by the heads of non-chiefly lineage segments and by other unrelated men whom he placed as lieutenants, or indunas, in charge of districts or responsible for specific administrative, judicial or military tasks. For fighting and hunting the men of the chiefdom were organized in divisions, each attached to a royal homestead. There was also an organization of youths into small age-sets, groupings of coevals who had been circumcised together.

At the turn of the century, with the emergence of large kingdoms, each containing many chiefdoms under the leadership of a king, the age-set system changed its form and the royal homesteads acquired greater significance. Circumcision was discontinued and the age-sets began to be organized on a national basis. Each age-set constituted a regiment in the national army, had it barracks

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at a royal homestead, and was led by a nominee of the king, usually a prince or chief. Other royal homesteads, called 'heads', were in charge of princes and were the foci of allegiance of groups of chiefdoms within the kingdom.

Thus every man owed allegiance in several places. He had obligations to his agnatic lineage, and in particular to that segment of the lineage within the chiefdom to which he belonged. Local matters, questions arising over land and cattle, and quarrels between neighbours, were settled by discussion between agnates or by reference to the lieutenant appointed by the chief to look after the district. Every man was also a member of a division of his chiefdom, and hunted wild beasts with his fellows in the division. He was a member of his chiefdom as against other chiefdoms, and looked to his chief for assistance in his affairs, even as the chief relied on the support of his people in his own struggles with other chiefs. In the nation, every man belonged to a regiment, fought and danced alongside his regimental age-mates drawn from every chiefdom, and was expected to support the prince who commanded the regiment. Finally he was a member of a 'head' and within his regiment was grouped together with others from the same head. A man might change his chiefdom, but his allegiance to regiment and head were fixed.[5]

The Ngoni State was founded in the 1820's by men and women, perhaps a thousand in number, who had grown up in a social system of this kind. Certain parts of the system were dropped, others were developed. In effect, the system was simplified and adapted to the life of migrant brigandage which the Ngoni enjoyed for some seventy years. The old alignment of agnatic lineages disappeared, for the great majority of Ngoni joined the system by capture, not by birth. In its place a quasi-agnatic residential system was evolved, in which men and women bore allegiance not to their own agnatic seniors but to their lord or captor. This system was, however, tied in with an arrangement of royal homesteads which in itself was a development of the division of polygynous households into great, left- and right-hand 'houses'. There were no chiefdoms within the nation, for the nation began, as it were, as a *tabula rasa* without significant relics of earlier chiefly alignments. The age-set system remained the basis of military organization, but there were no royal or chiefly commanders appointed over regiments and there were no regimental barracks. Instead the bulk of the population lived in large villages which resembled the former royal homesteads and military barracks but in which men

[5] Based on Bryant, *Olden times*, and Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu'.

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lived with their wives and children, and not all of which had royal headmen. The system of 'heads' disappeared, at least in the Ngoni group with which we are most concerned, and within their regiments men were grouped in terms of their place in the residential system.

3. *Foundation of the State*

The Nguni chiefdoms of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were, according to all accounts, comparatively small. There were many of them and they were unstable. After about 1775 the pattern of political alignment began to alter and larger states appeared. By 1810 three kingdoms, the Mthethwa, Ndandwe and Qwabe,[6] dominated the rest and in 1818 Zwide, king of the Ndandwe, whose territory was in what is now northern Zululand, killed the Mthethewa king. He then turned his attention to Shaka, an Mthethwa by political affiliation who had conquered his kinsmen the Qwabe and had become the effective leader of the Mthethwa kingdom. Unfortunately for Zwide, he was defeated in 1819 by Shaka and thereupon the Ndandwe kingdom broke up. Some segments became part of Shaka's expanding State, others moved off to the north. About 1821[6] Zwangendaba, who had been for a time a sub-chief of Zwide, led a party of refugees north-eastwards into the region of Delagoa Bay. The route probably taken by Zwangendaba and his followers, and by other Ngoni groups, is shown in Map A. Near Delagoa Bay Zwangendaba found Soshangane, a classificatory brother of Zwide,[7] fighting with Nxaba, another minor chief, both of them refugees like Zwangendaba from the rising power of Shaka. All three parties raided the indigenous Tsonga peoples and made captives fight alongside their new masters.

Zwangendaba quarrelled with Soshangane and moved on farther north. He took with him his new Tsonga adherents and also some small groups of Swazi and related peoples who had fled independently from Shaka and who now placed themselves under

[6] I do not claim any consistency in my spelling of indigenous names and other words. As far as possible I have endeavoured to follow Atkins, 'Spelling Nyanja'. However I have written the unaspirated post-alveolar affricative in its old form *ch* whenever the new form *c* might be confused with the radical dental click consonant represented by *c* in Zulu.

[6] cf. Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 459. He is followed by Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 5, 17, 71. Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 77, 84, gives 1823 and Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 15, has 1823 or 1824. Young, *History*, p. 109, and Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 8, both have 1825. Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 272, says Zwangendaba left in 1829, while Cowhead, *Native tribes*, p. 20, says he left in the 1850's.

[7] For the exact relationship between Soshangane and Zwide, see Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 161, 279, 454.

[Text continues on page 9]

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Map A. NGONI MIGRATIONS 1821–1900

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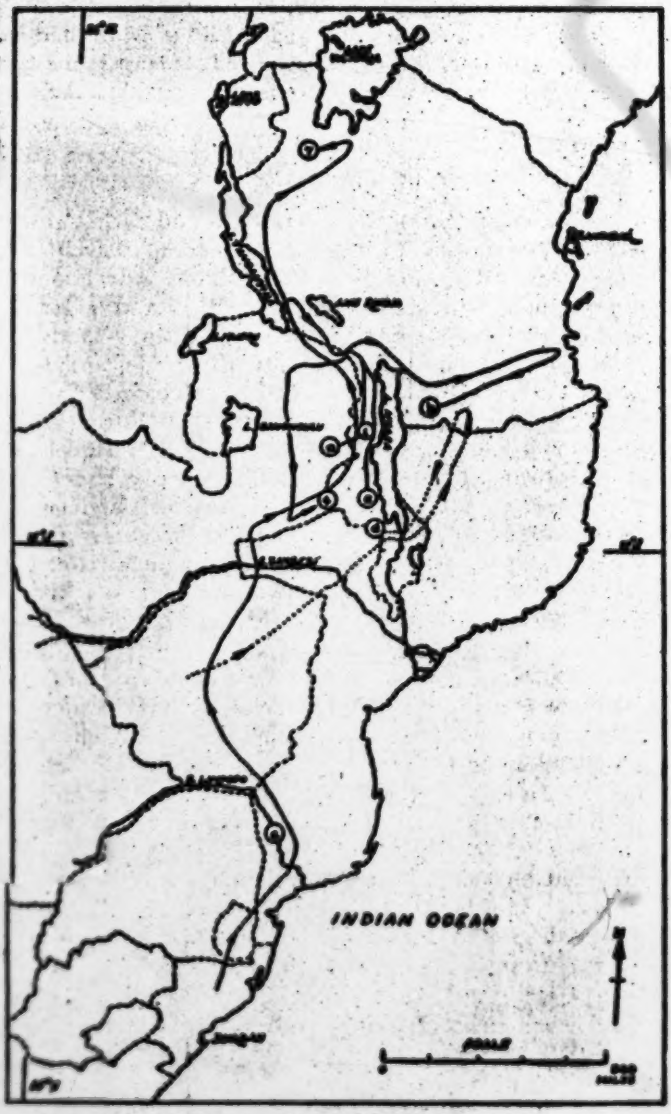
167
173
619



——— Route of groups stemming from Zwangendaba.

- - - - - - Modern political boundaries (1958).

① Northern Nyasaland group, under Mwambero.
② Fort Jameson group, under Mpezeni.
③ Ramaxwe group, under Mzumbilla and Mtambalala.
④ Lundazi group, under Magodi.
⑤ Senga group, under Zulu Gama.
⑥ Dowa group, under Chewa subjects.
⑦ Southern Nyasaland group, originally under Mpeta, Mtshe.
⑧ Gazaland group, under Soshangane.

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his leadership, or who may have been part of his following before the migration began.[10]

The people led by Zwangendaba called themselves Ngoni, a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation (*isithakazelo*) common to many agnatic clans in Natal. The tribes with whom the Ngoni fought referred to them by a wide variety of names and it is under these that they appear in the early literature. They were known as Angoni, Amapundi, Bangoni, Batuta, Bazowa, Bunga, Landeens, Landims, Machendi, Mafiti, Mafitte, Magwagwara, Makwangara,

TABLE I. LEADERS OF GROUPS IN THE 1820's

Shaka	Effective head of the Mthethwa kingdom and founder of the Zulu empire.
Zwide	Ndandwe king, defeated by Shaka.
Soshangane	A classificatory younger brother of Zwide.
Zwangendaba	Independent minor chief, sometime ally of Zwide.
Mzilikazi	Originally independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and later fled from him.
Nxaba	Independent minor chief who fled from Shaka.

Mangone, Mangwangwara, Manitu, Maviti, Mavitu, Mazite, Mazitu, Mbunga, Mchecherere, Rugaruga, Sinyama, Waangwe, Wajoja, Wamachonde, Wamachote, Wangoni, Wapoma, Watuta, Zulu and Zulu Kaffirs.[11] Some of these names they shared with other tribes and bands of brigands.

4. *The residential system*

The Nguni men and women who made up the core of Zwangendaba's following were grouped together in agnatic lineages and in age-sets. Their captives were absorbed into this social structure and in the process the structure was inevitably altered to conform to the peculiar features of Ngoni life. The heads of the various distinct lineages under Zwangendaba, or at least some of them, became known as *regional governors*[12] and their lineages became

[10] Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 158-71, 204-16; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 7-11.
[11] See Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 93.
[12] *Mukumuzana*, pl. *akumuzana*. cf. Zulu, *umnumzana*, village headman; also Read, 'Tradition', p. 462.

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segments in what we shall term the Ngoni residential system. The constituent segments of their lineages formed the nuclei of minor segments of the residential system. Using the adjectives 'superior' and 'inferior' to indicate merely relative position, we may say that each Nguni agnatic lineage segment was in general contained within superior segments of greater span and at the same time contained within itself smaller but similar inferior units. This formation is characteristic of all lineage systems, as is well known. The segments of the residential system were arranged in the same way but whereas there were several distinct agnatic lineages, or parts of such lineages, under the political leadership of Zwangendaba, in the residential system all, or nearly all, of these distinct lineages were included within the largest residential segment. In other words, the largest segment of the residential system contained almost the whole of Zwangendaba's following, his regional governors, his and their captives and other followers, as well as his own agnatic kinsmen. Again, whereas the various lineage segments contained only the agnatic relatives of the head of the segment, each segment in the residential system included many captives, men, women and children, as well as an agnatic core.

The segments or units of the residential system were enduring social groups which, by analogy with the usual terminology for lineage systems, we shall call primal segments.[13] The segment of highest order was the State itself (or the greater portion thereof), consisting in 1898 of some 75,000 people, while many of the lowest order segments contained only half a dozen people. Each member of a segment belonged not only to that segment but also to all the superior segments of which it was a part.

We shall refer to the man in charge of, or the founder of, a segment as a lord (*mfumu*) and to the members of his segment as his dependants. Every man was potentially a lord, and every lord except the Paramount Chief, Zwangendaba, was a dependant of some other lord higher in the hierarchy. A lord was politically responsible for all the men and women in his segment. He was related agnatically to some of the men in his segment and towards his captives he stood in a quasi-agnatic relationship in that, although he had the same rights and duties towards them as if he had been their father, it was nevertheless possible, and indeed quite usual, for his captives to marry one another and for him to marry one of his woman captives. In the absence of true agnatic descendants a lord was sometimes succeeded by a quasi-related dependant.

[13] *Cigaŵa*, pl. *vigaŵa*, from *ku-gaŵa*, to divide. cf. Nsenga, *ku-yaŵa*, to divide, and Zulu, *isi-gaba*, section or portion divided off from the whole.

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Each lord selected some of his quasi-related dependent men and made them his lieutenants. A lieutenant[14] was responsible for carrying out his lord's instructions and helped in keeping the peace within the segment. Thus a dispute between two people in the same segment was referred in the first instance to the lieutenants of their lord, who reported their decision on the matter to him. If agreement could not be reached the matter was referred to the lieutenants of the lord's lord, that is, to the next superior segment, and so on until the matter came before the Paramount Chief. A lord could override the decision of his lieutenants if he wished. The Paramount Chief's lieutenants were responsible for administering the poison ordeal (*mwavi*) when accusations of sorcery were made or when there was no other evidence.[15]

In the Nguni lineage, new inferior segments were formed mainly by differentiation between brothers, or between sons of different mothers. These types of differentiation occurred in the residential system and gave rise to new primal segments but alongside other processes of segmentation. The Nguni division of wives into great, right- and left-hand was developed into an arrangement whereby a man with many wives and many followers divided his wives into *bevies*[16] of some half a dozen wives each and allocated his followers to specific bevies. Each leader of a bevy had her junior co-wives, her own and their sons, and her lieutenants and other dependants acquired by capture. Each of these groups of followers under a senior wife constituted a separate segment and we shall refer to the wife in charge of a segment of this kind as the lady (*nkosikazi*) of the segment. Sons, lieutenants and even quasi-related dependants who were not lieutenants were all able to found inferior segments of their own within their lady's segment. Thus with the passage of time every flourishing segment became subdivided internally into several inferior segments, and in addition there was often what we shall term a *rump*, consisting of dependants not allocated to any inferior segment.

Most of the Nguni settlements were small, but on their march north the Ngoni lived in large compact villages containing over a thousand huts and several thousand inhabitants. Within these large villages people were arranged in terms of their segmentary affiliation and it is for this reason that we have spoken of a 'residential' system. The members of each small primal segment lived

[14] *Nduna*, pl. *nduna*. cf. Zulu *induna*.

[15] See Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 470, 472, and 'Geschichte', pp. 188, 190.

[16] In earlier publications I used the term 'band' in place of 'bevy'. See my *Marriage*, p. iii.

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173 621 631 together in a cluster of huts, and several clusters together formed a division, inhabited by members of a segment of greater span. Larger segments corresponded to complete villages and the largest segments of all contained many separate villages. The same general pattern of settlement was repeated at successive halting places on the migration, but as a segment grew in size by natural increase and by the addition of more captives, so its settlement grew from a cluster to a division and from a single village to a group of villages. In a large segment with many villages, the constituent inferior segments remained under the political leadership of the lord of the large segment but achieved a certain amount of autonomy. On many occasions the interests of one or more inferior segments diverged from those of the rest of the large segment, from what we shall term the *residue* of the large segment. This divergence of interest sometimes led to the disappearance of the large segment as an effective social unit and, at the highest level in the residential system, to splits in the State itself.

173 595 613 621 631 The first bevy of wives formed by a lord ranked senior to other bevies, and the wife in charge was the lord's great wife. Her eldest son was his main heir and the eldest son of each bevy leader was heir in its own segment. Yet sons, whether heirs or not, were able to establish segments of their own for their wives when they married and these segments remained as distinct social groups when an heir succeeded. Thus a man could be lord of a segment founded by his father and at the same time lord of a smaller segment, within the first, which he had founded himself. This arrangement was of fundamental importance in the working of the residential system, particularly in the formation of those large and politically dominant segments with which we are mainly concerned in this book, and still finds expression in the new villages founded by each reigning county chief. When the Paramount Chief, or one of his sons, founded a segment for a bevy of queens, the new segment was of village size and many men were called by the chief from existing segments to join the new one. As the segment grew in size, minor segments within it broke out to form separate villages of their own and the parent village became the headquarters of the group of villages and of the segment they formed. The headquarters of all large dispersed segments endured as social groups, as villages, despite the continual throwing off of more and more satellites. Thus the number of large villages, each the headquarters of a segment founded for a bevy of a reigning chief, increased as time went on. These villages remain to-day, and Ngoni history is largely the story of the formation and development of the segments associated with them.

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5. *Under Zwangendaba's leadership*

When the Ngoni migration began, the greater portion of Zwangendaba's followers belonged to the primal segment founded for the great wife of Hlatshwayo, father of Zwangendaba. When the migration began there were perhaps a thousand people in this segment (this figure is largely guesswork). For convenience of reference we shall refer to the various historically significant segments by numbers. Thus segment 1, with the proper name of Elangeni, is that of Hlatshwayo's great wife. The structural relationship of seventeen numbered segments to each other and to the royal genealogy is shown in Diagram 1. A list of their proper names and of the names of the lords and ladies associated with them, is given in Table II, together with information on three segments superior to segment 1 and on three other segments which cannot be placed on Diagram 1 for lack of information.

This diagram and the accompanying table are skeletons, showing only those few men and women who were heads of major groups which, partly fortuitously, have endured to the present day and are now large chiefdoms. There were many more queens than the ten shown on the diagram and very many more sons of chiefs, regional governors, lieutenants and other less exalted men and women all of whom were in charge of named segments, many of which still survive, forming part of a single system. The same principles of organization applied at all levels in the residential system. Here we have set out the names and positions of only the major limbs of the tree of State. We must not forget that the minor branches and little twigs were part of the same growing whole.

Segment 1 included the greater portion of the State, but it is clear from Elmslie and Fraser, and made explicit by Read, that the headquarters of several superior segments were also present on the march north. Read states that villages belonging to nine generations of chiefs were still in existence in northern Nyasaland in 1936. There is no direct evidence from Fort Jameson, for there are no headquarters of ancient royal segments there, but there are several villages belonging to the lieutenants of segments founded by Zwangendaba's father. I have therefore included in Table II the three superior segments whose names are given by Chibambo.[17] It is probable that Zwangendaba had succeeded to the position of

[Text continues on page 15]

[17] Read, 'Tradition', pp. 463*f*; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 14.

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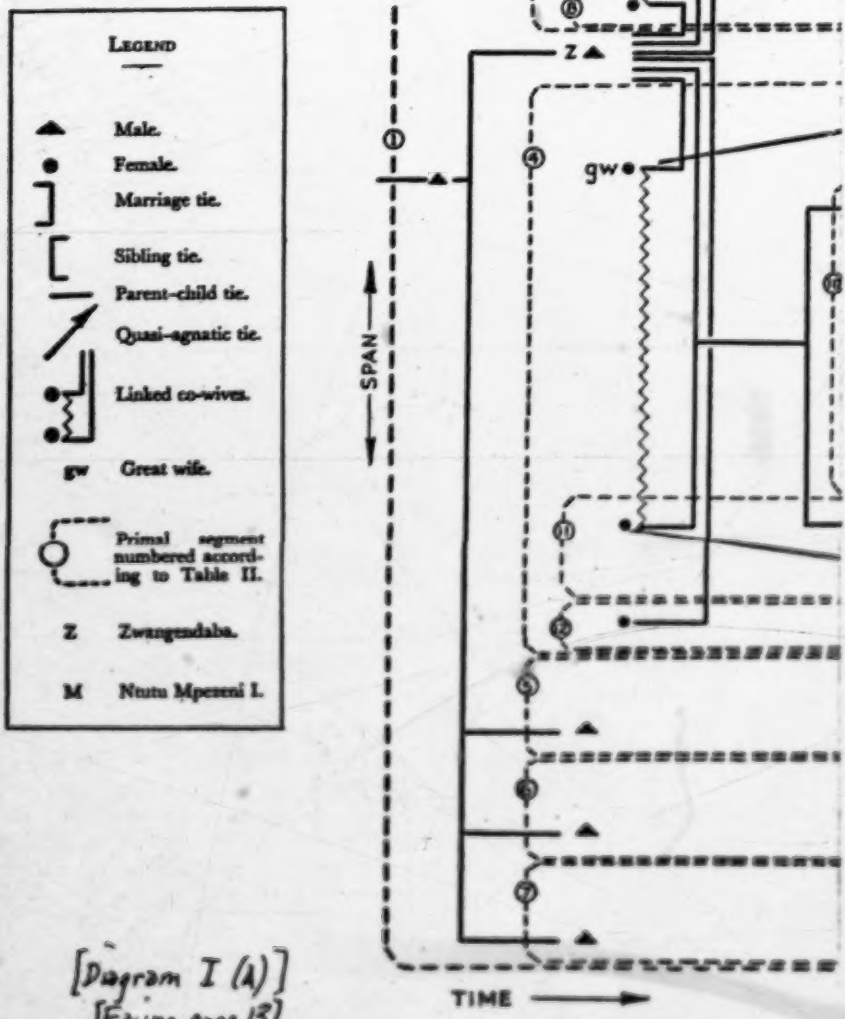
595
613
621
631
643

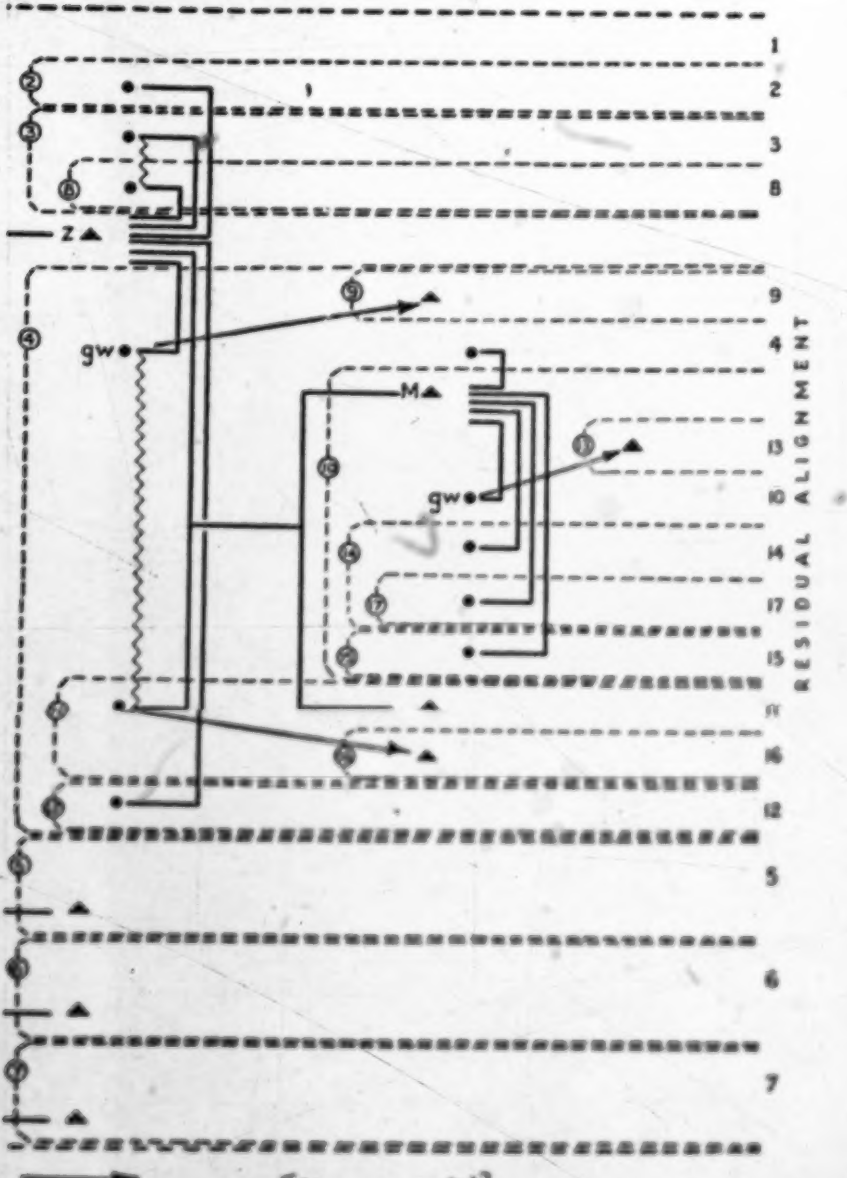
DIAGRAM 1. THE ROYAL LINE AND THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

SEGMENTS 1-17



[Diagram I (1)]
[Facing page 13]

DIAGRAM 1. THE ROYAL LINE AND THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM
SEGMENTS 1–17



[Diagram I (8)]
[Facing page 13]

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Mpezeni

TABLE II. RESIDENTIAL SEGMENTS OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

Segment		Lady's husband (in brackets when segment was not the first founded by him)	Lady	Lady's heir
Number	*Proper name*			
(c)	Emhlakuti	Lonyanda	?	Magalela
(c)	Emhlekiseni	Magalela	?	Magangata
(c)	Hoho	Magangata	?	Hlatshwayo
1	Elangeni	Hlatshwayo	Mqamache nzima	Zwangendaba
2	Enciweni	(Zwangendaba)	Mhambose	Mpevembe *or* ? Ndindane
3	Ekwendeni	(Zwangendaba)	Muneme nzima, *later* Cutu nzima	Mwambera Mtwalo
4	Mzenguleni	(Zwangendaba)	Lozi'ovûa Lompetu nzumalo	Mpezeni (son of her linked co-wife)
5	Kunyeni	Lomapela	?	Magwambane
6	Nyungweni	Somfula	?	Mlonyeni(a)
7	Engwenyameni (d)	Ntabeni	?	Ngodoyi
8	Ezigodhlweni *or* Emchakachakeni	(Zwangendaba)	Muneme nzima	Mwambera
9	Cikenkeni	Mnukwa nzeyopa	?	?
10	Loangeni	Ntutu *Mpezeni I*	Lupoko pakati	Nsingu
11	Dingeni	(Zwangendaba)	Soseia nzumalo	Nzyoshu (second son)
12	Mbuzweni *or* ? Emangeni	(Zwangendaba)	Zinkhove mahlangano	Mahodo (c)
13	Tundweni	Kapetamoyo	?	?
14	Fumbeni	(Mpezeni I)	Mdewa soko	Nzowmane
15	Chimpingo	(Mpezeni I)	Kukuya Kapili twala	Seyili
16	Fafazeni	Mashobolani (b)	?	?
17	Ngiyeloweni	(Mpezeni I)	Faisako	Magoya
18(c)	Emweyeyeni *or* Mvelelweni *or* ? Mweweni	Zwangendaba	Lozi'ovûa nzumalo	——
19(c)	Emuleleni	(Zwangendaba)	Mchazana mahlonga	?
20(c)	Emankechezeni	Mgoyi	?	?

[Notes to table are on page 15. -Analyst]

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lord of many segments superior to his own and that at least part of these superior segments came with him on the migration.

Within segment 1, Zwangendaba established inferior segment 18 (Emveyeyeni or Mveieleni) for his great wife. This segment or part of it was subsequently annihilated and for that reason its relationship to later segments is obscure; I have not been able to place it on Diagram 1. Three of Zwangendaba's younger brothers founded segments 5, 6 and 7 (Kunyeni, Nyungweni and Engwenyameni) within segment 1. Zwangendaba formed two subsidiary bevies of wives and made segments 3 and 2 (Ekwendeni and Enciweni)[10] for them, presumably inferior to segment 18. Another bevy of wives with their own segment 19 (Emsinini) is mentioned by Chibambo and Rangeley, but its relation to other segments is not recorded. It seems probable that segment 19, like segments 2 and 3, was inferior to the ill-fated segment 18.

There was a practice among the Ngoni whereby some of the co-wives in a bevy were grouped into *linked* pairs or trios. If a wife was barren or old or if her parents wished to honour her husband, she was given an agnatic kinswoman as her junior linked co-wife. Children born by the junior wife then ranked as if they had been borne by her linked senior.[11] Zwangendaba's great wife, the lady of segment 18, was barren but she had a junior linked co-wife who became pregnant. During her pregnancy an incident occurred of historical importance. It was, and still is, customary to offer beer to the Paramount Chief whenever it is brewed in the headquarters of important segments. During this wife's pregnancy beer brewed in the headquarters of segment 18 was offered to Zwangendaba. He thought that the beer was doctored or had filth in it and assumed that there was a plot to kill him. He sent warriors to destroy the headquarters of the segment, which thus disappeared as a political unit. However some of the probable constituent

[10] Rangeley, 'Mzwahi', p. 58, records an alternative tradition that the lady of segment 3 was the first woman to be made great wife, and that she was later demoted in favour of the lady of segment 18.

[11] See my *Marriage*, pp. 4-5, 34-36.

Notes [illegible]

(a) Ancestor of present Chief Mbunyeni, Fort Manning Division.
(b) Ancestor of former Chief Mbunyeni and present Chief Tobika, Fort Jameson District.
(c) Not an ancestor of present Chief Mshoshi, who belongs to segment 11.
(d) Not to be confused with a segment of the same name formed by Chief Mpezeni III in 1948.
(e) Not shown on Diagram 10.

[illegible] [see table on page 16 - illegible]

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parts of the segment, namely segments 2, 3 and 19, survived as independent inferior segments within segment 1. The lieutenant in charge of the warriors spared the pregnant queen and hid her. She bore a son, Ntutu Mpezeni, and later was shown to Zwangendaba who received her kindly and, according to Chibambo, ordered her to live with her son in the headquarters of segment 1. She was not in charge of a bevy of wives, and as by this time the great wife was dead, the bevy in segment 3 now became Zwangendaba's senior bevy. Mwambera, eldest son of the leader of this bevy, was thus a candidate for the main heirship but owing to the disappearance of segment 18 and the subsequent reconciliation between Zwangendaba and Mpezeni's mother, the relative status of the two sons was uncertain. This uncertainty may have been one of the precipitating causes in the subsequent break-up of the State.

Rangeley's verson of this incident is that after he had been shown Mpezeni, Zwangendaba ordered the headquarters of segment 18 to be rebuilt. This seems less likely to be true than the version we have followed, since there is, as far as I know, no present-day village which we can identify as the headquarters of this segment.[2]

From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo Valley into Mashonaland. He fought with Kalanga and other Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1835 Zwangendaba's group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambezi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1842 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here in about 1845 Zwangendaba died.

Two points of historical detail may be mentioned here. There is reliable evidence for a raid made on a Portuguese fort at Delagoa Bay on 22 October 1833 by some of Soshangane's people.[3] Poole and Winterbottom state explicitly that Zwangendaba's men also took part in this attack, and Lancaster seems to imply the same. According to the chronology adopted by Young and by Poole himself Zwangendaba was at this time four hundred and fifty miles away in the Kalanga country of Southern Rhodesia and it therefore seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he participated in this raid. Elmslie, Young and Chibambo do not mention it at all, and Bryant refers only to Soshangane's part in it.

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal, he was followed by Mzilikazi, a chief who for a while fought under Shaka and then fled from him with his followers.

[2] Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', pp. 126*f*; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 18*f*; Rangeley, 'Mzwalo', pp. 58*f*.
[3] Theal, *Portuguese in South Africa*, pp. 272*f*.

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They became known as the Rhodesian Ndebele or Matabele. Pumelt, who worked among them, does not record in their history any fight with Zwangendaba, nor do Elmslie, Bryant, Young or Chibambo. Money and Smith say that it is a matter of doubt whether or not Zwangendaba met Mzilikazi. However, Wood, who states that Zwangendaba broke away from Mzilikazi, says that there was a fight between them. Lancaster writes that there was a fight on the Transvaal border in 1828 before the raid of 1833. Poole makes this fight take place in about 1833 and writes of the Ngoni at that time living in the vicinity of modern Bulawayo and raiding Mzilikazi in the Transvaal. If we are to accept the existence of contact between Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi at all, either of these two versions is preferable to that of Winterbottom, who implies that after taking part in the 1833 raid at Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba moved to the vicinity of Bulawayo where he met Mzilikazi, only to move on to the Zambezi in 1835. Winterbottom crowds into two years more marching and fighting than seems likely to have taken place. There is also conclusive evidence, set out by Pumelt, that Mzilikazi did not leave the Transvaal under Boer pressure until about 1838.

If Zwangendaba and Mzilikazi were not living side by side, the suggestion by Lancaster and Winterbottom that they quarrelled about a dog is unlikely to be correct. There may be confusion here with the story, recorded by Field and Rangeley, of a quarrel between Mpezeni and Mwambera over their dogs.[1]

6. *Fission*

Various writers describe three occasions on which, according to their accounts, dissident sections broke off from the main body of Ngoni prior to Zwangendaba's death. Our view is that only one of these secessions actually took place, and that it was relatively unimportant.

The first allegedly dissident group is that sometimes known as the Maseko Ngoni, now dwelling in the region round Mount Domwe, on both sides of the border between southern Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa. Murray, Young, Hatchell, Poole and Bruwer state that after crossing the River Zambezi together, the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland broke off from Zwangendaba while he was in Nsenga country. Laws, Johnson, Soga, Lancaster and Rangeley state that these Ngoni crossed the Zambezi separately from Zwangendaba. Elmslie says that they were not an offshoot of Zwangendaba's party, while Read, Chibambo and Winterbottom state that they broke away from Mzilikazi, not from Zwangendaba. Fraser mentions a group that remained behind when Zwangendaba crossed the river and says that it went on to the east of Lake Nyasa, but does not say that it later returned to southern Nyasaland. Of all these writers, Read has had most contact with the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, and her account, as amplified by Winter-

[1] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 5; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', pp. 15f; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 78, 85; Young, *History*, pp. 105f; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 150; Pumelt, *Fact and fiction*, p. 171, Field, *Fieldiana*, pp. 16f; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 63.

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Mpezeni

bottom, seems the most acceptable.[1] Two other versions of this alleged dissension can also be rejected. Bryant says that the southern Nyasaland Ngoni remained behind after the main body had crossed the river and that they were led by Gwasa (*sic*), Zwangendaba's principal headman. Stigand's account is similar, except that he says they broke off after crossing the river. This conflicts with the evidence of Young and Chibambo of the subsequent part played by Gwasa, first lieutenant in segment 1, with Zwangendaba's own group. We must also reject the contention of Coxhead and Hodgson that the southern Nyasaland group broke away from the main body of Ngoni after Zwangendaba's death in Tanganyika Territory. The statement made by Stanley and followed by numerous other writers that the Hehe are an Ngoni group is quite without foundation.[2] Some other communities in southern Tanganyika who were merely raided by Ngoni have themselves taken the name Ngoni or some other name used by Ngoni.[3]

Poole speaks in one place of 'the secession of Nqualu' (Nzaba) from Zwangendaba, but this does not tally with his earlier statements that Nzaba's migration was independent of Zwangendaba, and that the first secession from Zwangendaba's host was that of the southern Nyasaland Ngoni. Bryant's account of Nzaba is much fuller than Poole's, and contradicts Poole's suggestion that Nzaba crossed the Zambezi at the Lupata Gorge. According to Bryant, Nzaba's group never formed part of Zwangendaba's following, and Nzaba was eventually killed in Barotseland. Chibambo and Winterbottom support Bryant.[4]

Fynerit, who worked among Mzilikazi's people, states that a section of Zwangendaba's group, composed of Swazi, broke off at about the time of the Zambezi crossing and turned back to join Mzilikazi who married the woman who led the dissident section.

[1] The secession of the southern Nyasaland Ngoni from Mzilikazi may explain Wilson's and Doyle's assertions that Zwangendaba himself broke away from Mzilikazi. Wilson, 'Expedition', p. 466; Doyle, *Savage Africa*, p. 131.

[2] Murray, *Handbook*, p. 30; Young, *History*, p. 111, and letter in *African Studies*, 1950; Hanchell, 'Angoni' (1933), p. 60; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Bryant, *Mkizi*, p. 11; Lewis, p. 85, f.n.1, in Leggard, *East African Empire*, i; Johnston, *Nyasa*, p. 100; Soga, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 173; Lancaster, 'Chronology', pp. 78, 81; Elmslie, *Introductory Grammar*, p. 2; Read, 'Tradition', p. 469; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 31; Winterbottom, 'Historical', p. 16; Fraser, *Primitive people*, pp. 310 *f.*; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 469; Stigand, 'Natives', p. 126; Cockroft, *Native tribes*, p. 20; Hodgson, 'Dress (Ngoni)', p. 126; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, pp. 499, 503; Rangeley, 'Mwase', pp. 58, 60.

[3] Maples, *Journals*, p. 13; Weule, *Native Life*, p. 229.

[4] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 7 and 8; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 177, 178, 469, 469 *f.*, 471 *f.*; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 18; Winterbottom, 'Outline histories', p. 18.

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This story is followed by Bryant but does not occur in any accounts collected from Ngoni themselves. It seems probable therefore that this wrestling section was not numerous or important.[1]

There are no other disruptions mentioned in the literature, and it seems probable therefore that until the death of Zwangendaba, the State remained largely intact. However the process, common in Bantu Africa, by which rival claimants to a throne succeed only in dividing their kingdom, operated with striking effect as soon as the founder of the State was buried. The elimination of segment 18 has sometimes been suggested as the reason why the State broke up, but it is clear from comparative considerations that a State of this kind was likely at any time to break into a number of independent groups, and that this tendency was greatest at the death or assassination of the king.

About 1840 a number of important people, mainly coming from south of the Zambezi, were killed off as a result of an internal struggle for power in which it appears that the recently captured Tumbuka, who were successful witch-finders, were allied with the Swazi and other Ndandwe against the Tsonga from the Delagoa Bay region.[2] Unfortunately there is very little information available on the relationship of this struggle to the rest of the political system. It is, however, clear that the effect of killing off a large number of Ngoni of Tsonga origin was insufficient to prevent the State breaking up a few years later.

When Zwangendaba died, his sons were still young and, for the time being, effective leadership of the State was disputed between men of his own generation whose positions are shown in Diagram 2. His brothers, the heirs of segments 5 and 6, were already dead. Fraser describes the dispute as a struggle between Ntabeni's children and Mgayi. Ntabeni was a younger brother of Zwangendaba and the heir of segment 7 while Mgayi was Zwangendaba's father's younger brother's son who, on Chibambo's evidence, represented the interests of the residue of segment 1. Rangeley has a slightly different version and makes Mgayi a supporter of segment 4. Poole, presumably following Fraser, says with some qualification that Ntabeni and Mgayi both claimed the chieftainship. From what we know of the south-eastern Bantu, and from our knowledge of present-day Ngoni, it seems unlikely that a brother would claim to be the legitimate heir in preference to a son, however much he might strive to gain ascendancy over the son. It seems preferable to follow Young and Chibambo in regarding Ntabeni and Mgayi

[1] Fraser, *Past and future*, pp. 146-7, 156; Bryant, *Olden times*, pp. 464f.
[2] See p. 89.

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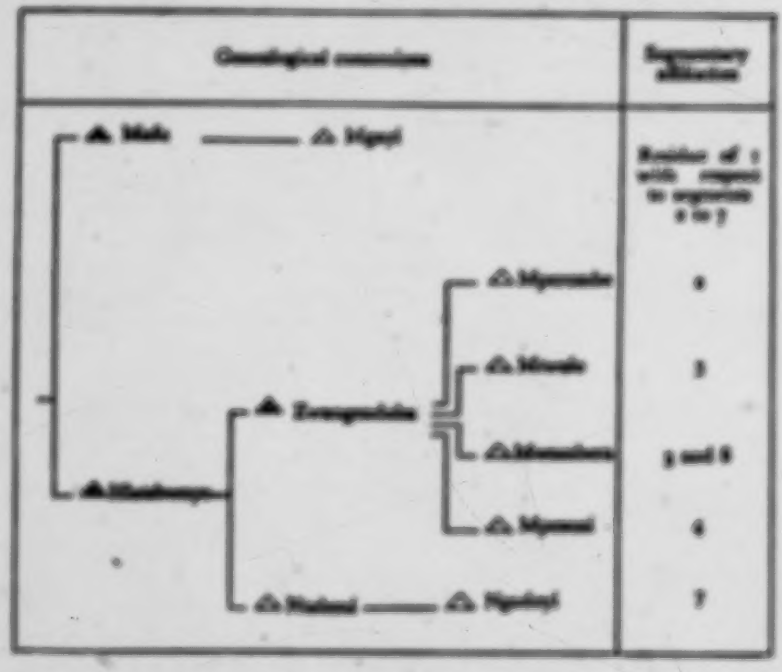
as acting as regent in turn on behalf of the young sons of Zwangendaba.[*]

The various published accounts of the succession differ from one another and reflect the different interpretations put upon the same event by rival sections of the tribe. Fraser and Young, who

DIAGRAM 2. ZWANGENDABA AND HIS HEIRS



worked in northern Nyasaland, say that Zwangendaba chose Mwamberwa of segment 3 as his heir, and Elmslie says that Mpezeni and others were under Mwamberwa. From Fort Jameson, Lancaster says that Zwangendaba chose Mpezeni, formerly of segment 18, and Poole, who is supported by Murray, says he nominated Mtwalo, another son in segment 3. Read, who worked in both areas, states

[*] For Mgoji's position in the residential system, we have only Chibambo's remark, 'the regent being Mgoji Jere, the father of Mtwalo, of Mzungeni', to be compared with Young's and Rangeley's mentions of Kwamberwa (Mwamberwa) as the village of Mgoji. Rangeley also implies that Mgoji was Zwangendaba's brother's son, which is unlikely. Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 17ff.; Poole, *Native affairs*, p. 71; Young, *History*, pp. 113ff.; Rangeley, 'Mtwalo', p. 60.

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that 'the history of those years, as related to-day, is largely concerned with proving in each area that their Paramount is the only rightful one'.[1] It is not our task to decide between these conflicting stories. What is important for our purposes is firstly that there was a disputed succession, and secondly that present-day rival groups are still concerned each to show that its claimant was the legitimate heir.

Chibambo, who belongs to northern Nyasaland, has a different version. He states that Zwangendaba chose as his heir his younger brother's eldest son Ngodoyi, in segment 3. Such a succession would have been unusual, for Ngodoyi's father, Ntabeni, was still alive, and Chibambo does not discuss why Zwangendaba should have passed over all his own sons. Nor does Chibambo explain why Ntabeni, as regent, should have supported the claims of Zwangendaba's sons as against those of his own son Ngodoyi, for according to his account the regent declared that Mpezeni was the rightful heir. The lady of segment 3 had earlier quarrelled with the regent, lord of segment 3,[2] and now to spite her he declared that the next in succession after Mpezeni was not her eldest son Mwembera but Mtwalo, the eldest son of one of her subordinate co-wives.[3] Chibambo suggests that it was this quarrel which led the regent to support Mpezeni as against the legitimate claims of segment 3.

The regent established a new segment 4, Mzengeleni, for Mpezeni and his mother, and within segment 3 formed a separate segment 8, Emchakuchakeni or Tsigudzhwini, for Mwembera and his mother, thus leaving Mtwalo and his mother in the headquarters of segment 3.

Chibambo states that Gwaza Jere, senior lieutenant of segment 1, supported the regent when he selected Mpezeni as Zwangendaba's heir, while Young says he strongly opposed it; both writers agree that after Mpezeni had been chosen there was a quarrel between the regent and the headquarters of segment 1.[4] Ntabeni, the regent, died shortly afterwards and his segment 3 broke off from the rest of the group. They were pursued by a party from segment 1 headquarters, but made their escape. The regentship now passed

[1] Fraser, loc. cit.; Young, loc. cit.; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 27; Lawrence, 'Chronology', p. 38; Read, *Native tribes*, p. 8; Murray, *Handbook*, pp. 19, 1; Read, 'Tradition and genealogy', p. 469. cf. Winterbottom, 'Outline historical', p. 17.

[2] Bowen, *Africa*, p. 12; Rangeley, 'Mwase', p. 60.

[3] A leaked co-wife, according to Winterbottom. However, his name for Mwembera's mother differs from that given by Chibambo, who merely says that the two wives were sisters. Winterbottom, 'Angoni paramountcy', p. 108; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 18.

[4] cf. *Occasional papers for Nyasaland*, 1, pp. 104-5.

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to Zwangendaba's father's brother's son Mgayi, of the residue of segment 1.

Elmslie states that Ntaloni's people, i.e. those of segment 7, went northward on the west side of Tanganyika and he is followed in this by Murray, Bryant and Tew. Elmslie bases his statement on Stewart, who heard of them there in 1879. However, Stewart did not visit the west side of Lake Tanganyika himself, and merely gathered his information from people in a Mambwe village on his way to the lake in October 1879. The account of the Ngoni that they gave him was incorrect in a number of particulars, and we have, therefore, to treat with caution their statement about the existence of an Ngoni group west of Lake Tanganyika. Even if part of this segment did settle there, it is certain that the whole of segment 7 did not. Hatchell gives genealogical information for the group of Ngoni at present near Runerwe, Kahama District, Tanganyika Territory, which links them to Ntaloni and segment 7. Stanley describes an Ngoni group which attacked Ujiji and was allied to Mirambo, and in the light of Hatchell's account it is certain that Stanley is here referring to part, if not the whole, of segment 7. This interpretation is made by Fraser, and is in accord with Young and Chilambo. Hence we may conclude that the main body of segment 7 went north on the east side of Lake Tanganyika and eventually settled in Kahama District.

Part of segment 7 may have split off and gone elsewhere, possibly to the west of the lake. Hatchell, in his account of the Kahama group, does not mention Ngodoyi, son of Ntaloni, and it is possible that he may have led a group elsewhere although Rangeley states that it was his following that reached Kahama. Hatchell and Winterbottom write of an abortive expedition by Zwangendaba to the western shores of Lake Tanganyika but make no mention of a group remaining there.

This interpretation conflicts with Elmslie, who says that segment 7 was west of the lake while the group encountered by Stanley were a separate group led by Ntoto. Elmslie does not say who Ntoto was, but it is clear from the context that he does not refer to Ntoto Mpezeni. Hatchell does not mention the name Ntoto in his genealogies. Elmslie may, therefore, have been misled on this point.

The only other writer to mention a group west of the lake is Poole, who says that Ntaloni settled west of the lake in Nyamwezi country, where they were known as Watuta, and, co-operating with the Ruga-Ruga, were encountered by Livingstone and Stanley in 1871. Since in 1871 Livingstone, Stanley, the Ruga-Ruga, and the main body of Nyamwezi were all east of the lake, it appears that Poole intended to write 'east', not 'west'.

Colle refers to contact between the Ngoni and Luba, but the section of Luba with whom the Ngoni fought had crossed from the Congo to the east side of Lake Tanganyika before encountering the Ngoni. The existence of an Ngoni group on the west side of Lake Tanganyika seems therefore to be doubtful.[1]

Fraser says that Mgayi led the main body, including Mpezeni, Mwambera, and Mperembe, as far north as Victoria Nyanza. Finding the country poor, he led them back towards Sukuma country, but died on the way. Fraser is followed by Poole, Saga and Winterbottom. It is perhaps significant that Fraser does not

[1] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 23-7; Murray, *Handbook*, p. 23; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 468; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 34; Stewart, 'Lake Nyassa', p. 468; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Hatchell, 'Tanganyika territory' (1933), pp. 63-5; Stanley, *Dark Continent*, i, p. 499; Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 313; Young, *History*, p. 115; Chilambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; Colle, *Baluba*, p. 63; Rangeley, 'Mawiri', p. 62.

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Mpezeni

mention Nxaboni's group as reaching Victoria Nyanza, and it may be that he has merely attributed this exploit to the wrong group. Such an interpretation would be in accord with the accounts of Elmslie, Young, Chibambo and Rangeley, and following them, Bryant and Tew. All these writers imply that the main body of Ngoni did not go further north than Ufipa. It also provides a more reasonable chronology, for by Fraser's version we have to assume that within only about five years the main body of Ngoni traversed Tanganyika Territory from south to north and then back again. Lancaster is inconclusive on this point.[1]

7. *Mpezeni's kingdom*

Mgayi did not live long as regent and after his death the senior lieutenant of segment 1 made Mpezeni chief. There was a considerable shortage of food at the time and this, combined with dissension in the tribe about the succession, appears to have precipitated a further split. A follower of Zwangendaba called Zulu Gama, whose position in the segmentary organization seems not to have been recorded, led his segment off to the east, where in the vicinity of Songea he met with that group of Maseko Ngoni which we have mentioned earlier, and who probably broke off from the Ndebele some time prior to 1835. For a while the two groups operated as one but soon they split apart. Some people stayed on in Songea District, others went south and eventually rounded the southern end of Lake Nyasa to arrive in the Dedza District of southern Nyasaland, where they remain to-day.

Of those that remained behind under Mpezeni, the principal cleavage was between segments 2, 4, 5 and 6, all led by Mpezeni, on the one side and segment 3 with the headquarters of segment 1 on the other. Led by the senior lieutenant of segment 1, the latter group moved off to the south-east while Mpezeni moved west. While in the country of the Bisa, segment 2 broke off from Mpezeni and after settling for a while in Bemba country as an independent group it eventually went back to join segment 3. Mpezeni, with segments 4, 5 and 6, went south and eventually arrived in Fort Jameson District. His leadership of these segments seems not to have been questioned, but in the other group the senior lieutenant of segment 1 at first supported the headquarters of segment 3 against the claims to the chieftainship made by segment 8. Mtwalo, the son of Zwangendaba who had been put in charge of the headquarters of segment 3, protested, however, that the real head of that segment was Mwambera, head of segment 8, who thus became chief.

[1] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 273; Sage, *South-Eastern Bantu*, p. 173; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 7; Wilson-Jones, 'Outline history', p. 18; Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 87; Young, *Niassa*, pp. 113f; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 29f; Bryant, *Olden times*, p. 467; Tew, *Lake Nyasa*, p. 94; Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86; Rangeley, 'Mbwela', p. 63.

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Mpezeni

When it arrived in Fort Jameson District Mpezeni's group consisted of three segments 4, 5 and 6, all of which belonged to the now dispersed segment 1. By virtue of his claim to be the heir of Zwangendaba, and hence the lord of segment 1, Mpezeni exercised control over segments 6 and 7 as well as over his own segment 4. It appears that the same procedure was adopted with these adhering segments as was followed earlier with the small groups of independent refugees who joined Zwangendaba near Delagoa Bay. For purposes of organization they were attached to the headquarters of the highest segment. As the headquarters of segment 1 had gone away with Mwambera's group, the senior segment headquarters in Mpezeni's group was now that of segment 4, and it was to this village that people from all three segments came to the first fruits festival, and which we may perhaps regard as the capital of Mpezeni's State.

It so happened that in 1898 when British Administration began in this area, the headquarters and most of the dependent villages of segments 6 and 7 lay on the east side of the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, and the bulk of segment 4 on the west. We might expect that at any place at which this Ngoni group settled, the three major segments of the State would occupy roughly distinct areas, and that as segments 6 and 7 were smaller than segment 4 they might lie on the fringe of the settlement. What appears to have happened is that the Ngoni moved eastwards into that region where the Europeans first found them, and that they were contemplating moving farther east into the present Nyasaland. Segments 6 and 7 were in the van of this advance, and the watershed, which here runs very roughly north and south, happened by accident to separate them from segment 4. This accident has been of considerable importance in the subsequent history of Mpezeni's group, for while segment 4 found itself in the territory of North-Eastern Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company, segments 5 and 6 formed part of the Nyasaland Protectorate, under the Foreign Office. Thus the State was again divided into two, and the Native Authorities which have developed belong to two separate hierarchies of administration.

In this study we are particularly concerned with the fortunes of segment 4, in Northern Rhodesia. Although Mpezeni was the head of this segment, it seems that his physiological mother was not lady of the segment, for she was only a junior linked co-wife. However this woman was promoted to independent status by the formation, within segment 4, of segment 11 (Dingeni) of which she became the lady. The senior man in this segment was her second

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

son, while her first son Mpezeni remained head of segment 4 as if he had been borne by her linked senior. Traditionally, a junior linked co-wife who had borne sons that had been taken over by her linked senior might be rewarded for her services by the formation of her own segment, to which she took her youngest son, and the disposition of sons in segments 4 and 11 was in accord with this principle. Another wife of Zwangendaba who was attached to segment 4 was given her own segment 12 (Mkuewni) in which she lived with two linked juniors and other quasi-related dependants. A lieutenant of segment 4 made his own inferior segment 9 (Cikenkheni).

At the next generation level Mpezeni created segment 10 (Loangeni) for his great wife and later established two subsidiary levies of wives in segments 14 (Fumbeni) and 15 (Cimpinga). Within one of these, segment 14, a junior wife made her own segment 17 (Ngiyelweni) and Mpezeni placed another wife in the headquarters of segment 4, in accordance with the custom by which the heir to any large segment placed one of his wives in the headquarters of that segment. Finally, in each of segments 10 and 11, a lieutenant broke out of the headquarters to found his own segment, namely 13 (Tondweni) and 16 (Fulaseni) respectively. Many other segments, large and small, were created but we have now mentioned all the segments under Mpezeni's control which later became the nuclei of counties in the Native Authority system and whose relative positions are shown in Diagram 1.

B. *Foreign policy*

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are described by pre-conquest travellers as living during the 1890s in a compact area surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country, beyond which were the tribes they raided. It seems probable that this spatial arrangement was not followed consistently throughout their history and that at various times and places the Ngoni came to some agreement with their neighbours whereby they either settled among them or established a settled rule over them. Thos Young, writing of the period 1855-9, says that the Ngoni settled among the Senga (Nsenga). Chibambo, however, says of the same period that the Ngoni 'captured many Senga without difficulty'.[*] The evidence is more definite for the period 1860-80, so far as Mwambera's group is concerned. Chibambo lists the tribes conquered by Mwambera in this period and adds: 'After overcoming them the Ngoni acted wisely; they did not break up local rule, or ways of

[*] Young, *History*, p. 111; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 22.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

worship. They allowed the local chiefs to govern their people according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority of the Ngoni. They followed the method of governing which Europeans call "indirect rule".[1] They also took selected children from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni villages. Young's account supports this.[2] Whether or not this method of government was wise is clearly a matter of opinion. It is perhaps significant that for Mpezeni's people the evidence provided by the present disposition of persons claiming descent from different ethnic groups suggests that a different policy was followed there. Chibambo and Young talk of groups of warriors under Mwambera belonging to various subjugated tribes; in Mpezeni's area captured men appear to have been drafted into the various age-set regiments, so that men from the same tribe were distributed throughout the army and did not form a distinct group. Territorially, the dispersion of captives from the same tribe was not so complete, for it appears that in Mpezeni's group the major segment settled on the east of the Ngoni area raided mostly to the east, and the western segment to the west, and so on, so that many of the captives taken from a particular locality were to be found in the major segment of the State nearest their homeland. Yet even this concentration of captives with the same ethnic origin was not complete, and representatives from all the principal tribes with whom the Ngoni came into contact are nowadays to be found in all parts of Mpezeni's Ngoniland. We suggest that this policy of assimilation, practised to a much greater degree by Mpezeni than by Mwambera, may be correlated with the fact that in Mpezeni's group there were no revolts by groups of captives of common origin, whereas in Mwambera's there were three such revolts, by Lake Tonga, Kamanga and Henga tribesmen.

Mwambera attacked the Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu some time round about 1860, and was driven off in the face of fire from guns Mwase had obtained from Arabs. He subsequently came to an agreement with Mwase whereby the Cewa chief became his 'child' and lent him soldiers armed with guns to assist in Ngoni raids. Travellers suggest that later Mwase came to an agreement with Mpezeni as well, but this is not so certain. Mpezeni does seem to have established peaceful relations with one or two minor chieftains during the period of early European contact,[3] but for

[1] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 39-41; Young, *History*, p. 119.

[2] e.g. Gumbo, a Kamba chief and Mbewe, who had Kamba and Henga connections. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 111; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyasa', p. 196.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it were, was internaly an organization of segments and externally stood poised against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike.

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of his Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.[2] Lastly there is the evidence of Chavo, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to be Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.[3] Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard

[2] cf. Field, Fielden, p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 42-4.
[3] Bk. in pap. Swn., p. 68, f.n. 8. See also Wilson, 'Expedition', p. 456.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neighbours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of the hunters.

In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[1] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted our attention to the relations existing between major portions of the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

[1] See the writings of Marwick, Peiller, Richards and Spire.

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

before it can be moved further. The same accumulation of snow then begins again with each fragment.

We can readily see that this system was one of great flexibility. The rules of the system were fairly definite, and the principles of agnatic descent and primogeniture were never violated. Yet it was a system very susceptible to manipulation, and one appropriate to a society with a rapidly expanding population recruited mainly by capture. The relationships between a man and his wives, his sons, and his other dependants provided the basis for differentiation within his segment, but they did not determine in advance which wife should be made leader of a bevy, which bevy should get most dependants, which of his younger sons he should favour, which dependants he would appoint as lieutenants.

Without a continual inflow of captives this wide pattern of segmentation might not have produced anything more than a lineage system on the same lines as the Zulu and Swazi. The captives were the bulk which swelled the segments, which benefited one segment at the expense of another. This system provided quasi-agnatic affiliation to people whose actual parentage was unknown or irrelevant. Because of this source of supply, much greater segmentation was achieved in each generation than was possible in an orthodox lineage system. The whole system lasted only seventy-seven years for the Fort Jameson group, corresponding roughly to three generations, yet almost the whole population of the Ngoni groups stemming from Zwangendaba, numbering perhaps half a million people, could at the end of that time trace quasi-agnatic ascent back to him or his forebears.

Membership of age-sets gave rise to one set of bonds which cut across the lines of segmentary division; those bonds created by marriage gave rise to another. A man in one segment was linked by ties of affinity to men in several others, and because of these ties interacted with them on formal and informal occasions, exchanged cattle with them, and had a joint interest with them in their common descendants. Though segments were not exogamous, a wife from a structurally distant segment had in general a higher status and was more likely to be selected as leader of a bevy than was one from the same minor segment as her husband. Within a segment a son of the lord might marry the daughter of a lieutenant, and lieutenants sometimes married daughters of their lord, thus blending the bonds of affinity with those of quasi-agnation. As the heads of segments, married women played a more important role than we usually associate with them in strongly patrilineal societies. The lady of a segment retained her connexion with the segments

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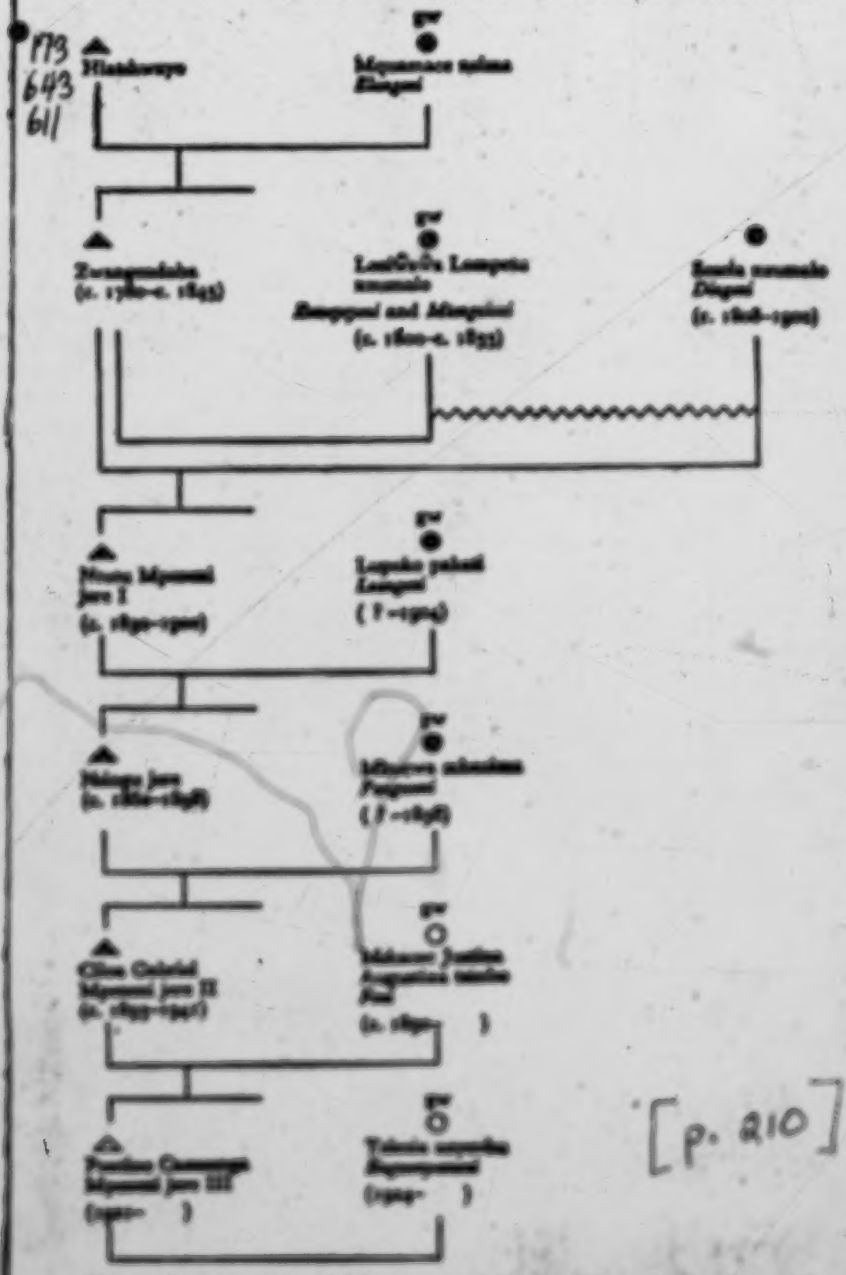
SKELETON GENEALOGY OF MPEZENI CHIEFTAINSHIP



[p. 210]

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(a) 'Those from the south'

These were the descendants of the leaders of the two main Ngoni groups represented by the two Ngoni kingdoms, with their followers, who left Natal during the wars of Shaka. They were South-eastern Bantu of Nguni stock, and when they were first encountered by Europeans in Nyasaland, the Europeans called them Zulus and spoke of their language as Zulu. Ngoni informants in the 1930's who were regarded as most reliable repudiated their relationship with the Zulu, and always referred to their ethnic origin as a people of Swazi stock. Y. M. Cibambo whose knowledge of Ngoni traditions was unrivalled, said in his book *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*—'Very many of them [the Ngoni] came from Swaziland, which is north of Zululand'.[1] A nostalgic refrain occurred in more than one of their traditional songs:

> Come let us go to Swaziland
> Where the people die fat.[2]

Cultural affinities between the Ngoni in Nyasaland and the people now living in Swaziland and, to a lesser degree, with the Zulu, will be examined in several chapters of this book. In the chapter on clan descent names in Part III, we shall compare the clan names called Swazi by the Ngoni with the lists of clan names given by Bryant in *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*[3] et.l with the list given by Kuper, in *An African Aristocracy*,[4] of the Swazi and pre-Swazi clans. The military organization of the Ngoni, the age-set system which formed part of it, and other cultural features which will be discussed in Chapter III of this section, all show a general cultural affinity with the peoples of the northern Ngoni group of the South-eastern Bantu.

The separation of the Ngoni group from the parent stock, which took place at about the same time as the Ndebele and the Shangaan groups fought their way north, occurred before the Swazi and Zulu kingdoms took final form. It is more correct, therefore, to say that Ngoni cultural affinities were with the northern Ngoni group as a whole than to say they were all-shown of either the Zulu or the Swazi. The Ngoni themselves used the designation 'Swazi' for the people with clan descent names whose ancestors left the south with the original party. Some of the older men remembered their fathers and grandfathers speaking of their clan as having belonged to the Ntungwa group, the Mbeve group, the Mbasa group, before the departure of the Ngoni took place. This differentiation into pre-Swazi tribal and clan groupings was not in the 1930's one to which the Ngoni gave much attention. In talking about their southern origin it was the Swazi connexion which they emphasized.

[1] Cibambo, Y. M. *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*. Lutterworth Press, 1942, p. 6.
[2] Read, M. 'Songs of the Ngoni People.' *Bantu Studies*, March 1932, p. 10.
[3] Bryant, A. T. *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*. Longmans, 1929, pp. 680–90.
[4] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*. O.U.P., 1947, p. 250.

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173 Ngoni tradition placed the departure of the two main groups under the leadership of Zwangendaba Jere and Ngwana Maseko during Shaka's wars, according to some traditions just before, and to others just after, the death of Zwide, ruler of the Ndwandwe people. The separate departure of the two Ngoni groups which later formed the two kingdoms was determined partly by their separate leadership under the Jere and Maseko clans, partly by their march by different routes to the Zambesi and after crossing it; and partly by the clan descent names of the Swazi element in the two kingdoms, which with few exceptions were different.

[533] Two traditional songs, sung at marriages, at dances at the Paramounts' villages, and the first in the church of the Scottish mission at Ekwendeni in north Nyasaland, reminisce the Ngoni of their departure from Natal, of their separation from the Ndwandwe people under Zwide, and of the hazards of a small military band fighting its way northwards.

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All the nations
Are gathered together against us.
How shall we fight?
They are called together against us.
Whence shall we summon help?
The big husky ones, ha!
They are called together against us.
We are reinforced by whom?

It is because of Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe people
That though I lie down I cannot sleep.
O Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe people!
Though I lie down I cannot sleep.
Shaka scatters us among the lowns of Sobhanguza land.

173 There were several informants in both Ngoni kingdoms who had preserved the story of the departure of the Ngoni from the south. V. M. Cibambo in his book gathered together the traditions and gave what he considered the most authentic version of the departure. One [174] text from the northern kingdom is given here, partly because it was typical of the kind of material Cibambo had to work on, and also because the author, Mkanyeni Jere, had heard it from his mother who, as a young girl, had lived at the court of Zwangendaba. The text gives the genealogy of Zwangendaba, and the connexion of his line with Zwide, ruler of the Ndwandwe people. It emphasizes the immediate cause of Zwangendaba's departure—namely the fear of meeting Shaka and his warriors in open battle, and the fact that he was not called a chief until he had made a breach with Zwide. The summons to the mourning for his uncle Mafu, which happened, was considered by the [175] Ngoni to be the final act by which Zwangendaba cut himself off from

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his kinsfolk who remained in the south. This breach with his former kin and the assumption of chieftainship marked out Zwangendaba as a leader and his followers as a separate group.

The Departure of the Ngoni
by Mbonyeni Jere

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Zwangendaba was the son of Hlacweyo, the son of Magangata, the son of Magalela, the son of Cenge of Eshlakaweni.

Magangata had three sons, they were borne by one mother. The first-born was Gumede, the second was Hlacweyo, and the third was Mafu. Gumede did not marry, he hated them badly, he did not eat the food that was cooked by the women, and the name Gumede was the *chief* of all Magangata's sons. He did not love his brother Hlacweyo. He said that Hlacweyo was black and also he was dwarf, but he said Mafu will be the one to take his chieftainship. Mafu was refusing to take that possession while his brother was still alive and he said that though the people say that Hlacweyo is black, he is not black to me but he is red. And also though they say he is dwarf he is not dwarf to me, but he is tall. When Gumede died the chieftainship was taken by Hlacweyo and Mafu was his second since they were all born from one mother.

Magalela was at Ndwandwe the village of Langa. Langa was the father of Zwide and Zwide was a very bad chief. Zwide did not treat Zwangendaba well. When Hlacweyo died his chieftainship was taken by Zwangendaba his son. Zwide was called Nxumalo, and these people of Nxumalo were strong men there in Natal and some were afraid of them.

Dingiswayo, the son of John of Elangeni, went to Zwide for a visit at Ndwandwe. As soon as he appeared Zwide caught him and killed him. When Shaka heard that Zwide had killed Dingiswayo, he grew angry for Shaka had grown up there at Dingiswayo's. He said ' Zwide has killed the *chief* who taught me how to fight better.' At the same time he ordered warriors to go and fight against Zwide at Ndwandwe.

Zwangendaba refused to fight with Shaka because he heard the story of Shaka, that he was a great warrior. Then he told his father Mafu that he must go away from Zwide. Zwide was troubling the Jere people. When they cooked beer he was snatching it, and when a man married a good girl he was snatching her, and when they killed a cow he was snatching the meat and taking it to Ndwandwe. When Zwide quarrelled with Shaka, Zwangendaba was glad that he had found a way of going away from Zwide. Zwide fought against Shaka and Zwangendaba ran away. The leaving of Zwangendaba nobody knew and nobody followed him. Also there was no one to follow him for Zwide was busy with war against Shaka.

They sent a message to Zwangendaba that Mafu had died—'Come to the mourning.' Zwangendaba did not go back to the mourning. All the people who were in Mafu's villages did not follow Zwangendaba. They also went on their own way, and we do not know where they went. Zwangendaba came with only two sons of Mafu, Cenge and Mgayi. Thus many children of Mafu stayed in Natal.

Zwangendaba was with his brother Nxaluwi when leaving Natal.

173 Ntabeni had his own village named Engwenyameni, and the big village of Zwangendaba was called Elangeni, and there were others.

When Zwangendaba left with his brother Ntabeni, they built their village near a path. That was the time that he departed from Zwide and he was at this time called a *chief* and had his own people. When Zwide was running away, Zwangendaba was on the way, and he was building his villages and spent a year at one place, and sometimes more than a year.

[114] The following text on the departure of the central Ngoni from the south was written by Ishmael Mwale, the treasurer of Paramount Gomani II of the central Ngoni kingdom. As Cibamba had done in the north, he had collected and put together the oral traditions of the old men. This story also began with a flight from Shaka's army by two leaders, Ngabe (spelt by Bryant, Nxaba) of the Msane people and Ngwana of the Masuko people. They fought the Ngoni group led by the Jere clan, and the group under Gasa which were later called the Shangaan people, and were defeated by both. The tradition of crossing the Zambesi by dividing the waters with a stick was common to the northern and central Ngoni. After crossing the Zambesi, the central Ngoni went west of the Shire river to the Kirk Range on the eastern slopes of which they found the people called Nyumbo.

THE DEPARTURE OF NGWANA FROM SWAZILAND
by Ishmael Mwale

© Ngabe, son of Mbekeni, made war on Shaka, but was defeated and returned to Swaziland. Then Ngwana said "If you run away from Shaka, he will trouble us, so I am going to leave." Chief Nyathi told Shaka that Ngwana was leaving, and Shaka said: "Prevent him from leaving." So Nyathi fought Ngwana and Ngwana knew that he was waiting for Shaka's army. So he performed a rite, and caused rain to come and darkness. In the middle of the darkness Ngwana left together with Ngabe. They came to the country of Nanzekweni or Mazwa, and fought with the people. They defeated the four chiefs there and conquered the country. Ngwana went straight to Ulozi to the village of Mambo, father of Lewanika. He destroyed the country of the Lozi and died there. Magadlela his brother entered the *chiefdomship*. When Magadlela left Ulozi he went to the country of Ndandawali, and from there to the Nyika. He arrived at Cileme Mkhirawawe, and there Zwangendaba found them. There was fighting between Magadlela and Zwangendaba, and many people were killed and they did not know who they were because it was night. When Magadlela ran away he made for Gulongwi where Ngabe was, and explained to him about the war. They mobilized the army to follow Zwangendaba. When they found him they destroyed many of his men. Bandoya and other brothers of Zwangendaba were killed. When they returned from the war with Zwangendaba they went to Cikwanda. There they found Gasa and fought him and were defeated. Magadlela and Ngabe ran away. Ngabe took a friendly farewell of Magadlela because there was hunger and there were many people without food. Magadlela allowed him

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to leave and went straight to the country of the Makumbe. They conquered it and came to the Nyanjagwi and conquered them too.

When they wanted to cross the Zambezi they made medicine and beat the water with a stick and separated it. All the army crossed and reached Kalambi. They fought there, and there Magodiela died and Mgoda took care of the chiefainship. Mgoda came with all the army to Nkumbe and caught many Nkumbe people. In the Nkumbe country Mgoda entered the chiefainship.

(ii) *'Those from south of the Zambezi'*

In the northern kingdom two main groups were included in this category: those whose clan names showed Tonga origin and those who showed Karanga origin. Bryant [1] wrote of the army under Zwangendaba lacking its way through Tongaland almost by the same route as the army under Soshangane, who fought and defeated him on the headwaters of the Sabi river. To his Tonga adherents Zwangendaba added a number from the Karanga country, many of whom, trained to fight by the Ngoni, became famous warriors in the Ngoni campaigns further north.

The Ngoni under Ngwana with Ngabe and his army kept nearer to the coast, and fought their battle with Soshangane (whom they called Gasa in the text quoted) on the Buzi river near Sofala. The two main groups of adherents whom they forced to join them were from the Ndau and Vanda peoples, called collectively the Vanda group by the Ngoni. Bryant [1] spoke of Ngabe's conquest of the Ndau people on the Buzi river, which would indicate that the Vanda leaders and their families were already part of the Ngoni army when the Ndau were added. Although, according to central Ngoni tradition, Ngwana's army with its followers zigzagged across the country between the Sabi river and the Zambezi, they do not appear to have collected adherents in any large numbers from the tribal areas through which they passed. This supposition is only based on internal evidence, that of the clan names recognized by the Ngoni as having come from south of the Zambezi.

(iii) *'Those from the north'*

After crossing the Zambezi, the central Ngoni went by the Kirk Range into the western part of what is now the Nchisa district. Then they turned east, crossed the Shire river near Fort Johnston and went up the east side of the lake to the Livingstone mountains in the Songea district of Tanganyika where they fought with the northern Ngoni under the Gama clan. The clan descent names of followers acquired on this route included those from the Nyamba people on the Kirk Range whom they conquered on their first arrival in Nyasaland, and the Tonga people from Songea, some of whom were incorporated with

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 480

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these Ngoni before they were defeated and driven out of Songea by the Gama group of Ngoni.

The northern Ngoni, who travelled east of the Luangwa valley into Tanganyika, acquired followers with clan descent names from the Nsenga in Northern Rhodesia and the Safwa and Sukuma in Tanganyika.

(d) 'Those from this country'

Under this category were included all the local peoples in Nyasaland who either were conquered by the Ngoni or surrendered to them, and who were brought within the rule of the Ngoni kingdoms. Those in the northern kingdom were chiefly of Tumbuka and Henga clans, with others from Cewa and Bemba stock. In the central kingdom the local clan names were of Cewa and Yao origin.

Two conclusions emerge from this review of the ethnic composition of the Ngoni kingdoms. The first is that the use of Ngoni as a tribal designation causes confusion. In this study the term Ngoni will be used when referring to persons whose clan descent names show that their ancestors were of Swazi or trans-Zambesi stock—that is categories (a) and (b) in this chapter. This criterion of who were Ngoni would probably not correspond with the criteria used in the 1945 census enumeration. The enumerators may have asked a direct question, 'Are you Ngoni?'; they may have asked the person's clan descent name; they may have asked to which kingdom or chiefdom he belonged, or they may have asked all four questions or any two. Since the Ngoni were found in every district in the country it was likely that there was little uniformity in the form of the questions asked by the enumerators or in the criteria admitted by those being questioned for declaring themselves to be Ngoni.

The second conclusion is that even if the criterion is accepted that the Ngoni were those whose ancestors crossed the Zambesi, the Ngoni kingdoms as political states included all the four elements (a), (b), (c) and (d). The status of the ethnically distinct groups in the kingdoms varied according to their clan names which indicated whether they came from the south or had been incorporated at a later stage. Ngoni forms of culture were found not only in groups (a) and (b), as would be expected, but often among families in group (c) who, through fighting in the Ngoni armies and marrying into Ngoni families, had adopted their social and ritual patterns.[1]

[1] Since the first draft of this book was written, Dr. Barnes's study of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, *Politics in a Changing Society* (O.U.P., 1954), has appeared. The early history of the Ngoni in the northern kingdom is the same as that of the Fort Jameson Ngoni, up to the final separation of the kingdoms under Mpezeni and Mbelwa. Dr. Barnes's excellent bibliography gives the sources for the historical documentation of their travels. A brief sketch of the history of the two groups under the leadership of the Jere and Mtwalo Peoples is given in Mary Tew's *Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region*.

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praise-songs. The northern Ngoni remembered the names of five direct ancestors of Zwangendaba, ancestors who had died before they left the south, and the central Ngoni remembered the names of three direct ancestors of Mpeta who had died before crossing the Zambesi.[1]

The genealogy of the Jere Paramounts which was recited in the northern kingdom varied in different localities. Of three versions which I found two agreed, except in the name given for the earliest ancestor.

Lowuma (Kali is the alternative given by Cibambo)
Lomyanda
Magalera } Died in the south
Magangata
Hlazwayo
Zwangendaba
Mhalwa I
Mhalwa II
Mhalwa III, ruling in 1939

The list above was given by Cibambo of Ekwendeni and Simon Nhlane of Hoho, the leading member of the Nhlane clan.

Third Version:

Nyandeni
Mahlo amhumo
Jele na Lowuma
Nchingile
Gumede
Magangata
Hlazwayo
Zwangendaba
Mhalwa I
Mhalwa II
Mhalwa III

[1] In 'Traditions and Prestige among the Ngoni' (*Africa*, 1938) I said (p. 466) that nine generations of ancestors were remembered in the north and seven in the centre. These referred to the Paramounts after crossing the Zambesi as well as to their ancestors who died in the south.

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173 The third version was given by Chisombo Jere, a grandson of Zwangendaba, who came from Emcisweni. This section of the Ngoni, under Chief Mperembe, had for a time associated with Paramount Mpezeni, and not with Mbelwa. This separation gave them a slightly different set of traditions, and they were, perhaps owing to their geographical isolation, the last group to give up the old language and dress.

An attempt to check the Emcisweni version of the Jere genealogy with that of Ekwendeni showed one piece of evidence in favour of the latter. This was the tradition preserved by the Nhlane clan that the Swazi chiefs of the Nqumayo clan had as their chief *isindawo* men of the Jere clan who were of the same age regiment. The names remembered were as follows:

Swazi chiefs	*Ngoni isindawo*
Ndwandwe	Magalela
Langa	Magangata
Zwide	Hlacwayo
Sikunyane	Zwangendaba

In the central Ngoni kingdom the following was the generally accepted version of the genealogy of the Maseko Paramounts:

Mzizi no bulako } Died in the south
Goqweni }
Ngwana — Died before crossing the Zambesi
Mputa
Cikusi
Gomani I
Gomani II, ruling in 1939

After the death of Ngwana before the crossing of the Zambesi, two of his brothers in turn acted as regents. Also, on the death of Mputa, his brother Cidyawonga acted as regent. In the recital of the Paramount's genealogies, however, the names of the regents were not included.

The succession to the Paramountcy and the role of the regent

643 It might appear that among a strictly patrilineal people like the Ngoni, where marriage was formalised by exchange of cattle, and where each wife had a recognised position and rank, it would have been easy to formulate rules for the succession to the Paramountcy, and that they would have been followed without deviation. Such had obviously not

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

643 so briefly referred to was in the nature of a warning that the kingdom must be held together and certain Ngoni customs and institutions preserved. This general mandate to a new Paramount was in keeping with the Ngoni policy of maintaining order and justice within the kingdom, while showing all the aggressive qualities of warfare against external enemies.

773 643 In the story of their northward trek, the division of authority among the central Ngoni between the Maseko and the Phungwako clans was referred to as the Maseko taking the '*Bayete*' and the Phungwako taking the *tonga*.[1] In central Ngoniland the *tonga* was a collective name given [744] to royal medicines used at different times for different purposes and was not reserved for the medicine used in the army as in the northern kingdom. It was said to have been 'from the beginning in the south'; 'it is very old, ever since people were born'. The following description was given by a member of the Phungwako clan in the head village of Chief Kacere:

643 789 'The Ngoni had protection for all their people of the most powerful kind. This was the *tonga*. This was specially to protect the Paramount at his accession. When the Ngoni were thus accustomed to being protected by the *tonga*, there was one thing which gave them protection above all others. If the Paramount died, in arranging matters, the *tonga* was essential in establishing the new Paramount. And if war had to be made, the *tonga* also gave protection so that they had strength to overcome their enemies.

[741] Also when the Ngoni were travelling in wild places and did not find somewhere to stay, they began to listen to the *tonga*. The diviner, who went ahead with the *tonga*, looked to see if there were bad omens. When they found a place to stay and stayed there with their cattle, they were protected by the *tonga*, so that they were not afraid of anything. They just conquered the country and took the cattle and made the people surrender.

[825] When getting ready the *tonga*, they could only do it with a sheep. They killed it, and took its blood and its fat and smeared the *tonga*. And the big people who were set aside for the work of the *tonga*, it was they who were doing these things. The meat of the sheep which was killed for the *tonga*, they did not eat it just anyhow, no. They were eating it in a special way, not in the house, no; nor with the women, no; but in a very different way from the meat of every day. They ate it without being greedy when it was divided, and they took care not to put some aside, for they feared lest someone should eat the *tonga*. They just ate to finish it quickly, and when they had finished they did not sleep in their houses with their wives, but they went apart and slept in the place where this was done for the *tonga*. Their sleeping was different from other days, for they did not sleep on good mats, no. When they had eaten meat for the *tonga* they changed their ways, to act differently from usual. Instead of

[1] The head of the Phungwako clan, Chief Kacere, ruled one of the Ngoni states in the Dedza district which, in the 1930's, was separate from the central Ngoni kingdom.

[p. 69]

CHAPTER IV

COURTS AND OFFICIALS

[A] [17] 671 The Ngoni claimed that when they established their kingdoms in Nyasaland they introduced a new idea of law, a different system of courts, and a different procedure for conducting cases in those courts, from those found among the local peoples. Within their kingdoms they imposed on all their subjects these ideas, courts and legal procedure as part of their government, applied to the conquerors and the conquered alike. We shall consider in this chapter only those aspects of the courts and the legal system which were related to the political structure. The categories of crime, the degree of punishment, the sanctions for enforcement of the Law, and the effect of the judicial procedure on the balance of equilibrium in the community, all belong to a specialized study and are not included here.

The Native Concept of Law

692 643 671 We begin with two texts, the first from the northern kingdom by Chiumbo, the second by Ishmael Mwale the Treasurer of the Paramount in the central kingdom.

671 [20] (1) The Ngoni seem to have been born with a gift for leadership or rule. Though they were a wandering tribe, yet there was one Paramount from whom proceeded the laws for the good government of the people. All the lesser chiefs and headmen received from him the leadership of the people. Though they had no way of writing to each other, they kept their unity by messengers passing between them. The Paramount had power to call gatherings from time to time, in which they talked of the affairs of the country. In these gatherings the old men and the men of repute who had a point to make were heard in criticism and made suggestions for the building up of the realm. By this means the Paramount and his counsellors learned of and understood the thoughts of their people. It was in such large gatherings that the laws of the country were delivered to the people, so that they might hold fast to them and not be punished unreasonably for breaking them in ignorance. After they came back from these gatherings, the headmen and men of standing gathered together their villages to tell the people what had been spoken in the great council of the Paramount, and told them carefully about the laws which had come from the gathering.

● [17] 671 (2) Before the Ngoni came to this country the villages were small and isolated from one another. There was constant pouncing on people to catch them as slaves. It was unsafe to go even a quarter of a mile from one village to another, because a man might be in hiding and pounce out and catch you and take you off to his village as a slave, and there was no redress and no case was heard. Most people never went beyond the

2: Read E-S (1935-1939) 1956
FRS Ngoni FRS

boundaries of their own village, and they were afraid to travel even in a large party of twenty or thirty. So no one had any wisdom beyond that of his own village and family. When the Ngoni came they had one law for all people and they had courts to hear cases where this law was enforced. There was freedom to travel in the land where the Ngoni ruled, because they had peace within their boundaries. Therefore, we say: this was the kind of peace we had.

In these two texts we have one major concept of Ngoni law with three chief ways in which it was implemented. The concept was that there was 'one law for all people' and that the knowledge of and enforcement of this law brought internal peace and resulted in good government in the country. There was one source of law as there was one source of political and military authority—the Paramount. As Cilumbo points out, the Paramount delegated his authority for carrying out the law to chiefs and headmen and depended on his 'old men and men of reports' to keep him in touch with the thoughts and desires of all his subjects, so that he might adjust the enforcement of the law to bind the people to him. He also called large gatherings of all the chiefs and alimusumu and headmen in order that they might hear from him any new laws and regulations and understand them so that they in turn could make them known to their people. In the intervals between the holding of these large gatherings, which took place not more than once or twice a year, messengers passed constantly from the Paramount's village to all the areas of the chiefs and alimusumu, reporting to them about decisions taken at the royal village on matters affecting the country as a whole, and taking back reports to the Paramount on what was happening in the outlying districts.

I attended two of these annual meetings of the chiefs and alimusumu and headmen in the central kingdom. They took place not at the Paramount's village but at a more central spot for the whole territory. The people were drawn up in a square formation, with the Paramount at one end supported by his 'mouthpiece' (ndumo wankosi), who always spoke for him, with the six Subordinate Native Authority chiefs beside him, and the councillors (izinduna) messengers and other officials of his court and of the S.N.A. courts arranged in order of precedence, facing the crowd as they did during court sessions. On the three sides of the square in the front ranks were the alimusumu and the headmen of their villages, sitting in territorial groups, and behind each headman were the madoda or senior men of the village, and behind them again the amajuba or young men. I watched this assembly of 3,000 to 4,000 people being arranged, as they arrived, by the izinduna of the Paramount's court and the izinduna of the six chiefs. They took up their places as though on a military parade, and once placed there was no further movement. The effect was that of a barrack square in the straightness of lines and orderliness of behaviour. After all was in order the Paramount

Dr. Kuper called the diviners among the Swazi 'the most powerful and respected specialists operating in both individual and national situations'.[1] I found that among the Nguni also they were greatly respected once they had established their reputation for prophecy and diagnosis. Except on the occasions when they were called upon to carry out their functions the majority of diviners whom I met in the region lived in relative seclusion, and had no outward signs of power in any political or economic sense, though in the past some of the 'prophets' had also been warriors and leaders. Socially they were always shown great honour when they came in response to a call, or when they were visiting on non-professional occasions. They were addressed in a respectful tone of voice, given a mat to sit on, and village visitors around them were hushed. They were, however, essentially reclusive, withdrawn from public life except when they were called on to help in time of crisis, and they did not show any ostentation of wealth or position.

Dr. Kuper used the term 'specialist' to describe the diviners among the Swazi. In the Nguni kingdoms there were many kinds of specialists owing to the existence of several tribal groups each with its traditional system of religion and magic, and each with varying methods of treating sickness, diagnosing the causes of misfortune, and interpreting omens and dreams. The diviners in the Nguni kingdoms who were best known and on whom the greatest responsibility lay were those who were called by the Paramount in times of national crisis. Such responsibility and such fame had in pre-European days corresponding risks. The following story, which was told me in Hlubi by Timoti Jere and which I heard quoted in several areas in the northern kingdom, puts in a traditional setting and with much circumstantial detail the kind of demands formerly made on diviners and the kind of treatment meted out to them.

[1] Kuper, H. *op. cit.*, p. 184.

A Zwangendaba in his coming out of South Africa arrived in the country of the Mzimba at Mahiri. It is there now. When the *impi* was commanded it went out to conquer for the country of the Sukuma. That *impi* wanted very much to be victorious, because it went to fight in two countries, in that of the Sukuma, where they took the long-horned cattle, and in that of the Ngunda, where they took the cattle without horns and with big humps. While the *impi* was away, the Paramount called all the *izinduna* and said 'Why has the *impi* delayed so long? Call the *izanusi* that they may divine. Perhaps the *impi* has run away and turned back.' Then the *izinduna* called the *izanusi*. In their divining they said 'The *impi* has run away and turned back.' There was one *izanusi*, his name was UMakhanda Nkosi, who divined and said 'All the *impi* is there and it will return in this month. The long delay of the *impi* is because they have raided two countries, the country of the Sukuma with long-horned cattle and the country of the Ngunda with unhorned cattle.' It was so, and that month the *impi* returned and arrived at Mahiri with many herds of cattle as UMakhanda Nkosi had said.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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173 741 After one year Zwangendaba called again all the *izinduna* and said 'Let us test all these *inanusi* in their divining.' So they spoke together secretly and said 'Let us take a goat and kill it, and take its blood, and let us sprinkle it on the doorways of the huts and on the posts of the doorways.' The *izinduna* agreed and no man knew of it. So they took a goat and stabbed its throat and when the blood came out they received it in the agricoles, and then sprinkled it on the doorways and the posts of the huts in the enclosure of the Paramount. They did this at night and returned to their huts and slept.

When it was dawn, all the people were astonished at seeing blood on the doorways of the Paramount's huts. The people told the *izinduna* and the *izinduna* told the Paramount. He said 'Call the *inanusi* that they may divine.' They called all the *inanusi* and they divined together and they said, 'That blood is of man. There are flesh eaters here. They are striving that you O Paramount may die.' There was one *inanusi* UMakhumbi Nkosi who divined alone, and he said 'O Paramount the blood is of a goat. You, together with the *izinduna*, are proving us as *inanusi*. It is you O Paramount and the *izinduna* who have done this thing.' So the Paramount agreed. He commanded the *izinduna* and said 'Kill all the *inanusi* except UMakhumbi only.' All the *inanusi* were killed in this way by Paramount Zwangendaba at Mahiri.

The moral of this traditional story, as the Ngoni always pointed out when relating it, was that diviners could be wrong. The specialised skill which they claimed to possess carried with it a recognised responsibility for using it correctly and not deceiving the people who consulted them. There was also a suggestion in the story of the contempt for this kind of skill shown by leaders who possessed great political and military power. Hard-headed chiefs and army leaders in the past expected efficiency in their diviners, and punished them severely for ineptness and what appeared as deceit. This veiled contempt, associated as it was with the tacit admission that the diviner as a specialist could not be dispensed with in Ngoni life, appeared often in the 1930's when Ngoni leaders were talking about divining and were planning to have recourse to it. As in this story, they were ready to recognise authentic diagnosis when they heard it, but not to regard the diviners as a class as infallible. One of the reasons for this view about divining was the wide range of social background and the diversity of functions among the diviners. The following account by Cibambo suggests that two categories of diviners were recognised by the Ngoni and indicates certain Ngoni attitudes towards their range of operations and the way in which they carried them out. The account refers to pre-European days, and there was in the 1930's little evidence of these distinctions between types of diviners.

791 ¶ There were men who acted as go-betweens between the spirits and the people called *inanusi*. Just as in the days of the Jews there were true and false prophets, so it was among the Ngoni. It is going too far, indeed it is

2: Reed E-5 (1935-1939) 1956

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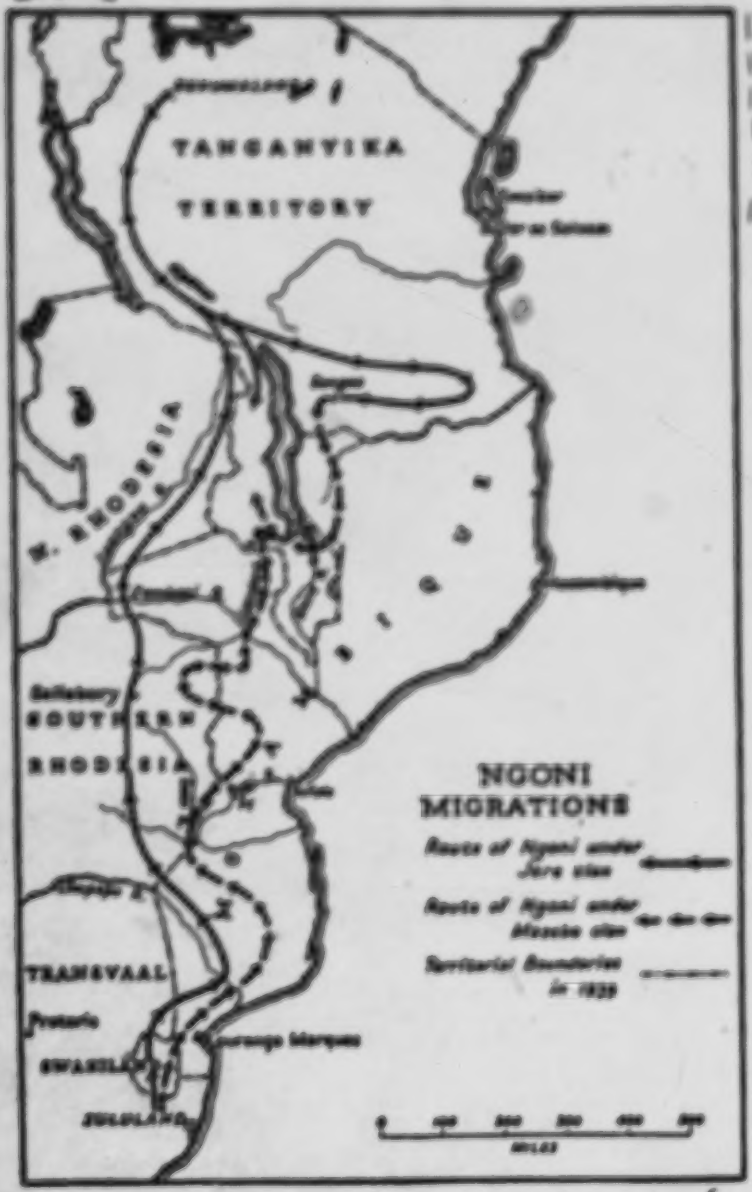

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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Ngoniland and the People who lived in it

The homeland

The little country of Nyasaland in Central Africa received its name from the lake by which Livingstone and those who followed him penetrated into the interior and reached the lands and people living round the lake. On the west side there is a narrow strip of low-lying coastal land. Then a series of escarpments begin, and up them roads and paths wind through steep wooded valleys, until the final scarp leads to the grasslands of the high plateau. Here on the high plateau the Ngoni settled about the middle of the nineteenth century, after nearly forty years of trekking from Natal to Tanganyika. They turned south again at the shores of Lake Victoria and returned to this land which they had passed through on their northward march. This high plateau has great diversity of scenery, and much of it reminded the Ngoni of the hills and valleys and grasslands of Natal. There are high mountains with sharp peaks and massive granite shoulders. Between the ranges of lower grass-covered hills are shallow valleys where the rain washes down good soil to the valley bottoms. Sweeps of grassland, bare of trees, alternate with river valleys where there is a continuous flow of water, fed by springs and mountain streams.

In the dry season, from April to November, the trees lose their leaves and the grass gradually dries up till the prevailing colours are gold and brown against the black and grey

88 of 'staying together', they did not make the occasion of physical maturity an opportunity for driving home the lesson. According to Ngoni tradition the forms of private ritual for girls and for boys had come with them from the
• [m] south. At one point in their wanderings, said to be in Tanganyika before they settled in Nyasaland, they gave up the practice of circumcision, also brought from the south. This rite, according to tradition, had coincided with boys passing out from herding cattle and being called up into a regiment.

m 88 The question naturally arises why the Ngoni adhered to their private ritual at puberty, and never adopted any of the local forms of initiation schools, and why they abandoned their only corporate ritual of this type: the circumcision school. Various reasons were given by the Ngoni elders for abandoning the circumcision ritual: that there were no more grass to be found of the sharp kind with which the foreskin was cut; that the school which lasted three to four months delayed for too long the intake of young men into the army; and that the young men of non-Ngoni families, compulsorily absorbed into the army, objected strongly to being circumcised.

After a short description of the private ritual for girls and boys, we will return to answer the question why the Ngoni held to these forms.

Girls' private ritual

88 When a Ngoni girl found she was menstruating for the first time, she stayed in the hut where she was sleeping and called her companion or her friend and told her what was taking place. Ngoni women declared that their girls were as a rule unprepared, and that the flow of blood was unexpected and alarming. Some Ngoni girls agreed that this was true. The majority said, 'We knew about this from our older sisters and companions, but we hid this knowledge from the elders.' The companion or friend found a senior helper in the grandmother's household, generally the one who had supervised the

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
FRS Ngoni FRS

schools, in sermons by Ngoni ministers in the churches. Fathers gathered their children together, boys and girls, on such occasions, and said to them: 'Listen. Do you hear? This is about our people from the beginning. Remember well. Do not forget, for the Ngoni cannot forget their past.'

A young man of about twenty related to me how his father, the head of a leading clan, used to talk to him about the Ngoni past when they went on hunting trips together on Mount Chuma, where Paramount Mbelwa and his Ngoni had first settled in Northern Nyasaland. In among the dry grass the father showed the boy the sites of former villages, the polished floors and the sturdy door-posts of the huts, and the stumps of the kraal fences. He heard in that historical setting the story of one of the famous secessions from the main Ngoni kingdom. 'Early one morning,' said his father, 'we woke up, we who remained, and we saw that Chiwere had gone. All the people shouted "Chiwere has separated from us. He has separated indeed. Our Paramount is poor because of his departure."'

It was largely through their own efforts that the Ngoni succeeded in teaching their history to their children in the schools. More than one Ngoni leader who had been educated by the Scottish Mission began writing the history of his own people, and in their villages I found several young men recording in writing the traditions as told them by their grandfathers. One Ngoni minister, Rev. Y. M. Chamlee, for twenty years systematically recorded and checked and compared these traditions. His books in the local vernacular were used as readers in the mission schools, and later translated into English as *My Ngoni of Nyasaland*.

Sermons in church by Ngoni ministers not only referred to historical events which were illustrated in songs or recorded in oral traditions but to the role of the famous diviners, called prophets, 'dreamers of the head', who foretold the advent and manner of arrival of the Europeans. The Ngoni Christian leaders went further than this. They used the

3 Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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parallel of the Jews of the Old Testament preparing the way for the Christian era to illustrate and drive home their belief that they, the Ngoni, had prepared the way for the Christian Gospel in Nyasaland. "Were we not also a people who hated idols and images? We too tried to reach the Great God through our ancestor spirits, but we failed, until the missions came to teach us." "We held together the people of this land under one rule so that the missionaries could travel safely and spread the Gospel teaching." These beliefs were stated so often that they became almost standard formula, and the incongruity of this picture with some of the warlike situations recorded by the earliest missionaries was ignored and forgotten. In the churches, where the people sat on mats, Sunday by Sunday, facing their Ngoni ministers, rising to sing, in their typical Ngoni harmonies, Christian hymns set to former Ngoni war tunes—in this setting Ngoni history was brought home, interwoven with the new teaching, to young adults who formed the majority of the congregation. For Ngoni elders it was something more than a reminder of their past. It was setting the Ngoni people in a special relationship to the European missionaries and the new learning, compensating for the passing of military power and political supremacy by establishing Ngoni cultural superiority over their neighbours. This gave some spiritual reassurance to a people in the throes of political change, and it was a lesson which lost none of its significance for the young adults who heard it.

Ngoni law

'There was one law for all the people. No one could be ignorant of the law.' These were the words, quoted in Chapter I, which the Ngoni used frequently to describe the importance of law in their culture, its role in the political unification of their own and subject peoples, and the responsibility, laid on all adults, for knowledge of the law and conformity with its demands. An incident in a court of law, which was unforgettable to an anthropologist, was a case in which a chief sat

B: Barnes E-S (1946-1949) 1951 FRS Ngoni FRS

The Fort Jameson Ngoni[1] are at this stage of transition. Many men and some women can read, if not write, and we can no longer call the tribe nonliterate. Yet a society of this kind behaves in many ways as if it were nonliterate. In particular, information about the past is transmitted orally and laws and customs are not committed to writing. In this paper I shall discuss some of the ways in which this information is manipulated. I shall distinguish between tales of fighting, relating to the period 1821–1898, which we may regard as tribal legends of origin; beliefs about customary behaviour relating to the same period; private legends which serve to explain the form of relations between present-day groups; and lastly history proper, documents describing contemporary events, if such exist.

Early travellers all speak of the various Ngoni groups as fierce warrior tribes interested only in destruction and plunder. With the spread of European control Ngoni raids ceased. Today in villages inhabited mainly by women and children, with scraggy animals and eroded gardens, the traveller looking for signs of a military tradition sees only khaki greatcoats and battledress. Among the Fort Jameson group, if not elsewhere, the great cowhide shields, and the regiments which carried them, have disappeared. Yet the battles of the past are still remembered and are called to mind in songs sung for drunken parties, in tales told to children and, importunately, to sympathetic strangers. Many of these songs are in the old Ngoni language now largely forgotten, and singers cannot give any precise meaning to the songs they sing. They are the relics of the past learnt parrot-fashion and in the context in which they are sung they do not require any specific reference. In our own culture we do not need to know who were the April rainers before we can sing "Green grow the rushes, O". Prose tales, however, are in ordinary speech and describe military exploits of people known to the speaker, or preparations for raiding ordered by the Paramount Chief and carried out by his lieutenants. The most frequently recounted battle of all is the fight between Ngoni and British troops in 1898. Many men and women are still alive who remember the fighting or even took part in it. The cataclysmic changes which followed the Ngoni defeat and the unusual weapons used combine to make the battle memorable. It is the only admired defeat, for all other tales tell only of victory. The Ngoni defeated the Bemba, Wisa, Cewa, Kunda, and so on.

We know from contemporary travellers' accounts that though on the whole the Ngoni were successful against their neighbours, their run of successes was not unbroken. There is evidence that on occasion even the Cewa raided the Ngoni and took captives. We may regard the form taken by these legends as due in part to the process found in most cultures by which victories are remembered and defeats forgotten. But the distortion introduced is not only the elimination of defeat. The Administration and the Missions have,

1. I worked among these people during 1946–49 while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

B: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1951 FRS Ngoni FRS

quarrels in a village the headman is blamed by the chief for not controlling his people well. All disputes are best settled out of court, even if they must be referred to court later on. Therefore a quarrel in village A brings to light all the alliances and cleavages which link A with other villages and differentiate it from them. The headman of A appeals to B for support, invoking the historical incident linking them, and hopes to settle affairs of his village with the authority of B's approval behind him. For if the headman of B is a potential ally he is also a potential rival, and the dissident section in A may themselves invoke their link with B and transfer their allegiance to him. Thus although the details of the relationship between A and B, and the historical incident connected with it, may not be widely known there is considerable external pressure on them to maintain their relationship. Connexions of this kind, mainly between villages, but also between chiefdoms, play a large part in contemporary Ngoni life. Men walk twenty miles to a funeral and women carry pots of beer all day in response to ties of this kind.

Thus we see, on the one hand, that tribal legends are widely known, relate to pre-conquest times, and do not directly influence conduct; and, on the other, that legends associated with inter-group relations are known only by the groups concerned, may relate to either before or after 1898, and do directly influence action. Why is there this difference? We may regard the former legends as of significance mainly in external relations and the latter in internal. Within the tribe, and more particularly within the minor chiefdom, inter-group relations are still largely determined by Ngoni themselves, however much they may have altered in form and content since 1898 and however much Ngoni are part of a wide system. Movement between villages is only slightly controlled by the Administration and in quarrelling, in marriage and adultery, beer-drinking and hoeing, Ngoni men and women choose their own allies and enemies. Incidents in reality give rise to inter-group relations and are subsequently invoked to maintain them. History is written not in books but in the names of groups and in the remembered connexions between them, and as these connexions gradually change so local legendary history is gradually rewritten.

In external relations the Ngoni never act as a tribe except within the framework of European-controlled institutions. As yet no myth of origin is needed to explain the fact that Ngoni and Cewa representatives sit together on the Provincial Council save that the Administration put them there. The world of external relations is one of cultural heterogeneity and comparative adequate documentation. In this field legends have only a limited social function. They differentiate tribe X from tribe Y but do not relate them to each other.

Barely we must consider Ngoni history proper. There have been many alleged accounts of Ngoni history published in Europe and South Africa, but these seem to have had little influence on the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Recently several histories have appeared in the vernacular, and tribal history

one party of them came up from the south, and partly to divisions among the Ngoni during the period of settlement.

About 113 years ago the ancestors of these Ngoni left their homes in the present Zululand and Swaziland for their long trek north. The immediate cause of their departure was the defeat of Zwidi, chief of the Ndwandwe people, by Chaka, the history of whose military career in Zululand is well known and needs no repetition here. As part of Zwidi's people, the Ngoni did not want to stay under Chaka, and the same impetus and military skill which set up Chaka as the Zulu Napoleon drove the Ngoni northward so far as Lake Tanganyika, a conquering military horde amassing followers on the way. To-day they are found in these large groups and several smaller ones, the large groups known as the 'countries' of Mpezeni, Mwambera, and Gomani, who are the Ngoni Paramount Chiefs.[1]

These groups of people with their southern origin, settled among people who had a totally different language and social structure, present to the anthropologist a highly complex situation to investigate. He must at the outset ask the questions, 'Who are these Ngoni? Have they a separate identity as a people, marked by distinctive social and political institutions?' After living among them for nearly a year I am convinced that it is correct to speak of the Ngoni as a distinctive group; that they themselves are very conscious of their separate identity as a people, and that they can point to certain of their institutions, notably their language and political, territorial, and kinship groupings, which are definitely Ngoni, that is, of southern origin, and which distinguish them from the people among whom they settled. The complexities of this situation involve the analysing of the ethnic elements included in this term 'Ngoni' and the determining of the sense in which it is to be used. They involve also an explanation of what is meant by the expression 'a distinctive Ngoni culture', or 'distinctive Ngoni institutions'. The anthropologist who is interested in culture contact must go further and indicate the nature of the double contact caused first by the intermingling of the Ngoni with other tribes, and then by the advent of the Europeans. It is not possible in this article to do justice to all these aspects of an intricate problem.

[1] For the purposes of this article these are the only groups which will be considered.

political and military organization into an effective group. What meaning, therefore, can we give to the term 'Ngoni', and how can this group which calls itself Ngoni be analysed into its component parts?

II. WHAT DOES THE TERM 'NGONI' MEAN? The references made hitherto show that the term 'Ngoni' is used in several different connections. It is, strictly speaking, an historical linguistic term, and referred originally to that group of clans described as 'Ngoni' because they spoke a language classified to-day as the Ngoni dialects.[1] Somewhere on the march north the Ngoni changed the *a* to an *o*, and arrived in their present areas saying 'We are Ngoni'. They assert emphatically that it was on the march they began to say 'We are Ngoni', and they suggest that it was important to have some general term to cover individuals from many mixed groups.

The name Ngoni having been assumed on the march north, it obviously at first only covered those clans which were of true southern origin, or as we should say to-day, of Zulu or Swazi stock. This is the meaning which Ngoni still has when used in its narrow or strict sense to-day. In collecting the clan names in a village, for example, the headman says 'These are Ngoni, those are Makalanga, these are Nsenga', and so on. The true Ngoni clans are those most highly honoured, the real aristocrats, and a little experience teaches the field worker to recognize their bearing as they walk about among the rest. In a village containing several clans, the houses of the Ngoni clans occupy the most honourable places in the middle of the horse-shoe formation surrounding the cattle kraal. In any meeting at a chief's village the men and women of Ngoni clans sit nearest to the chief and drink beer before the rest. This ranking by clans, however, does not stop at the true Ngoni. They lead the hierarchy, but other clans also claim precedence in a rough geographical order of the tribes absorbed from south to north. The true Ngoni illustrate this by saying, 'In old days the only men who were made *indunas* were those of the Swazi, Zulu, Sutu, and Tonga clans. After we settled here, *indunas* were made from the Makalanga, Nsenga, and Sukuma clans'. There is therefore

[1] See *Bantu Studies*, Sept. 1934, for classification of the South African languages. Also A. T. Bryant, *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal*, for list of Ngoni clans.

gave their own culture, so that they were not submerged in the very different cultures round them? The Ngoni themselves give the answer to this first question, saying, 'We fought with spears and shields; those others had only bows and arrows and sometimes guns.'[1] The making of these shields, which formerly gave courage and protection to the warriors, is to this day almost a ritual. To watch a chief working at one on the threshold of his hut, or a village headman and his friends cutting and shaping one in the kraal, is to realize the value put on them by the Ngoni. They refuse to make them for sale as curiosities, and several Europeans have told me that they have tried in vain to get one.

Having conquered by the shield and spear, the Ngoni maintained their prestige by their highly developed political organization. All around them were small chieftains owning a few villages with no integration in any large political unit.[2] The Ngoni state was focussed in the *inkosi*, the Paramount Chief, who was at once the 'owner'[3] of the land, the 'head'[3] of the state, and the 'father'[3] of his people. The Ngoni, as we have seen, are always ready to indicate those institutions and inherited traditions which mark them off from the surrounding tribes, and which give their state a cultural reality of its own. They point first to their language and their traditions of Dingiswayo, Zwidi, and Chaka as proving their southern origin. Other neighbouring peoples have vague traditions of wandering from north to south, or west to east, but the Ngoni know exactly where they came from and by what route. Their language is almost identical with old Zulu. I was told by many Europeans that it hardly existed any longer, and I was therefore surprised to find to what an extent it is still spoken and used. Most of the true Ngoni to-day are bilingual[4]; with the exception of a few very old Ngoni people, everyone to-day speaks one of the local vernaculars, Nsenga, Tumbuka, or Chewa.[5] Ngoni is the language of the aristocrats, and a large proportion of the true

[1] The kind of antique guns traded to the Chewa by the Portuguese and Arabs were no match for the Ngoni skill with the long throwing-spear or the short stabbing-assegai, and the bullets were such that the stout cow-hide shields of the Ngoni could withstand them. Hence the consternation of the Ngoni when the machine-gun bullets of the British troops pierced their shields in the Ngoni 'war'.

[2] With the possible exception of Chikusemanyemba, Chief of the Henga.

[3] Translations of vernacular terms.

[4] Or trilingual if they know English too.

[5] The same as Nyanja.

819 down fully and correctly. When I arrived in Chief Gomani's country,
124 after having stayed in the other two Ngoni areas, the chiefs and leading
[114] men whom he called to see me asked at once, 'What did the other Ngoni do to show you they were Ngoni? *We* want you first to hear the story of our people.' If I said to any older man of good standing, that is of a true Ngoni clan, 'Tell me about the Ngoni', he invariably began with the traditions of the south and their trek north.

• 773 I have some fifteen long texts[1] of Ngoni history, most of which
[126] begin with the stories of Dingiswayo and Zwidi, leading on to the rise of Chaka and the Ngoni exodus from the south. These texts not only show a measure of agreement with each other, but they also are verifiable by established history as recorded by Europeans. Those texts which came from Gomani's country contain different material after the exodus from the south. For the Ngoni under the leadership of the
[619] Maseko clan came north with Mzilikazi and the Matabele, and crossing the Zambesi alone, went east of Lake Nyasa into Tanganyika.[2] The main Ngoni group under the Jere clan went west of Lake Nyasa into Tanganyika, and remained a united group until the death of Zwangendaba in 1848. A disputed succession followed and the Ngoni split up under two rival Paramounts, Mpezeni and Mwamberu. The history
[829] of those years, as related to-day, is largely concerned with proving in each area that their Paramount is the only rightful one, the only one to whom the royal salute *Bayete* should be given. Mpezeni's historians say, 'Mwamberu snatched *Bayete*'—and vice versa. In spite of these divergences in later history, however, the Ngoni point to their earlier
619 history and say, 'You see we are all one people'. They are conscious
829 of, and troubled about, their present divisions and inclined to attribute them to our premature arrival in the country. 'You came too soon. We would have fought until there was only one *inkosi*.'

814 The detailed knowledge of Ngoni history is regarded as the province of a specialist. 'How can a man of no wisdom remember all those names?' From time to time 'historians' tell episodes of this traditional history in the villages of the Paramount or of other im-

[1] 800–1,000 words.

[2] This is their own account and is confirmed by the Rev. Charles Stuart, formerly at Ekwendeni, but not so far recorded by other Europeans.

9: Read E-S (1935) 1936 FRS Ngoni FRS

history in order to prove their unity with the true Ngoni. It is nevertheless recognized that the aristocrats, through their kinship links with the past, have the best knowledge; the rest listen and defer to them. For matters relating to history are no antiquarian interest to the Ngoni. It is probable that recalling history and dwelling on the great days of the past is to some extent a compensation for what the Ngoni consider the indignities of their position to-day. Yet it is also a stimulus to them to maintain their separate identity and to reverse their institutions. Tradition supports rank, by recognizing the historical importance of certain clans; and rank preserves tradition because intimate knowledge is the proud monopoly of certain families.

V. Tradition and Legend as Documentation. To the anthropologist who examines the part played by tradition and legend in the culture of a people, Professor Malinowski has given an invaluable lead. He suggests that myths are the charter and documentation for traditional tribal life, 'statements of reality which live in the institutions and pursuits of the people';[1] and that legend is re-interpreted history. All peoples of whatever level of civilization interpret history in the light of their beliefs about themselves, their achievements, and their destiny. The Ngoni are no exception to this. Sometimes they relate factual history which is verifiable and accurate. At other times it is probably part fact, part fiction. Yet at all times the emphasis in, and interpretation of, tradition, has a definite purpose, and it is possible to see how a standardized form of a narrative has come to be accepted and believed in. The version of a narrative at one time was interpreted or moulded to serve a purpose. Having been established, it then moulds the thinking of the people on that particular issue. The vexed question of the supremacy of the two Paramounts, Mpezeni and Mwambera[2] is a case in point. The basis of the story of the original dispute is the same, but the versions as told in each 'country' differ in a succession of minute details, whose arrangement and emphasis prove the point in each case. Mpezeni's historians have arranged the details to prove that he is the rightful *inkosi*; Mwambera's historians

[1] B. Malinowski. Article on Culture in *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*.

[2] The two Paramounts at present holding these titles are grandsons of the first holders, to whom I refer as old Mpezeni.

do the same. And in each area the versions so minted convince the people that their *indusi* is supreme. The main purpose of the traditions was to show that there cannot be more than one rightful *indusi* of the Ngoni. The present-day interpretations serve the same purpose and exalt one of the two claimants at the expense of the other.

The traditions centring round the person of Zwangendaba are numerous. Some of these are concerned to show that he was an important chief in the south under Zwidi, and that the Jere clan of which he was head was a leading one. Other accounts do not disguise that he was an upstart, but lay stress on his success as leader of the Ngoni in their trek north. All these traditions about Zwangendaba are told as documentation for the importance of the *indusi*, and centre round the Ngoni belief that their state must have one head in whom authority is centralised. It is easy to see that the circumstances under which the Ngoni state was created demanded a strong autocratic ruler. The traditions gathered round this first ruler of their state now serve to perpetuate the beliefs about the office of Paramount Chief, beliefs which modern ideas and western education have hardly modified at all.

Ngoni history divides into three periods, and the traditions in each period, as they are told, form the people's thinking about that section of their past. The traditions of the earliest period, that is, of their life in the south and their trek north, are the charter for their pride as a distinctive people. The traditions of the middle period, of their conquests and settlements, document their superiority over the surrounding peoples. The traditions of the last period, that of the arrival of the European, determine their attitude towards white contact. Their interpretation of their history, therefore, reflected in the established legends and tradition, influences profoundly their thinking about themselves, about their neighbours, and about the Europeans.

VI. Prelude to White Contact. This second period of Ngoni history includes the events from the crossing of the Zambezi to the coming of the Europeans, roughly the years 1855–1885. During these fifty years the original Ngoni horde, with additions to it from the tribes south of the Zambezi, explored the country in which they were finally to settle, went farther north into Tanganyika, and finally

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returned between the years 1855–1865, to settle in their present habitat. The earlier part of the period was one of exploring and of conquest. The later part was the time of settlement and consolidation, during which the Ngoni 'states' emerged in the form in which they were found, when the Europeans first arrived.

The Ngoni in Mpezeni's country, when speaking of this time, call it *chamtendere* (the time of peace). Any white travellers' tales referring to these years lay stress on the constant raids carried out by the Ngoni, the fierceness of their warriors, and their ravaging of the countryside for slaves and cattle. It was obviously a time of frequent wars. Why then do the Ngoni call it a time of peace? I have asked this question of many men of rank and standing and they give one invariable reply, 'We call it *chamtendere* because the *Azungu* (Europeans) were not there to trouble us'. This statement is in effect the key to Ngoni thinking about the days of pre-white contact, and also about the advent of the Europeans. The way in which they speak of *chamtendere* is itself significant. I first heard it during a long recital of Ngoni history, and stopped the narrator to ask the meaning of the word. There was instantly an embarrassed silence and self-conscious grins in the group. The word had evidently slipped out unawares, for later on they told me that it was a word they only used among themselves. Having once been used, however, it appeared frequently in conversations with me, and proved a useful starting-point for accounts of the organization of their own state and the effects on it of the European advent. 'Ah, *chamtendere*', they say, with a deep sigh, 'then we were people'. It proved also to be a pass-word to their confidence, for whenever I mentioned *chamtendere* to a village headman, he and his notables nudged each other, and laughed and said, 'She can know about us'. When pressed to be more specific about this 'troubling' by the *Azungu* they spoke of taxes, of the ban upon raiding and warfare, of young men being called away to work, of their land being taken for European farms. These restrictions and disabilities caused by white contact they regarded as warfare, that is, as troubled times, because the Europeans forcibly prevented them from doing as they liked, just as they had done in their day to the surrounding tribes. The conquered tribes, on the other hand, naturally hailed the advent of the Europeans as a time of peace and security. Therein lies the chief

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difference to-day between the attitude of the Ngoni to the Europeans and that of the Chewa, for example. In the vernacular expression the Ngoni say, 'The Europeans spoiled our country'; the Chewa say, 'The Europeans saved us'.

Chamtenderu, then, was the period of Ngoni supremacy, when they established by force of arms their right to rule over the country and its indigenous inhabitants. There was, however, some difference between the political organization of the Ngoni as a conquering horde on the march, and their organization when they finally settled in their present areas. At both times the focus of their organization was warfare—they were a nation under arms. But once settled on land which they had chosen they began to spread a network of political organization over the country, and to plan in terms of 'countries'[1] instead of mobile villages. To-day when they discuss the advent of the Europeans and the consequent 'spoiling' of their country, they recall the days when extensive tribute was paid to their Paramount Chief, chiefs were free to choose good sites for their very big villages, the outlying areas were ruled by *indunas* and lesser chiefs. It was the partial breaking up of this centralized political organization which they regarded as 'spoiling their country', as well as the economic restrictions with regard to land and the prohibition of raiding for new supplies of cattle.

During this time of Ngoni supremacy Ngoni institutions flourished —those institutions which they had brought with them from the south and preserved through their wanderings. When they are telling to-day about these years they speak fervently and reverently of the part played by the Paramount Chief in every side of life, the training for warfare of all the young men, the instruction and supervision of young chiefs by old *indunas*, Ngoni marriage and initiation ceremonies. It was during this time in Mpezeni's country that the *Inqwala* or first fruits ceremony was regularly observed at Mtenguleni, the village of the mother of old Mpezeni.[2] At this ceremony the Paramount Chief 'opened' the new food season by the ritual eating of new fruits, especially young maize and pumpkins. It was also the

[1] i.e. chiefs' areas.

[2] The description of this *Inqwala* given by men and women who took part in it in their youth shows much similarity to the *Inqwala* of to-day among the Swazi.

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occasion on which he made known any new laws before the assembled leaders of his country. The ceremony was marked by special songs and dances performed only at that time. It was an occasion on which economics, religion, politics, social life and recreation were brought together in a dramatic form in the part played by the Paramount Chief *vis-à-vis* his people. When speaking of these 'good old days' the Ngoni always refer to the *Inqwala*, for it was to them symbolic of the greatness of their *Inkosi*, and of how 'they lived well' before the *Azungu* came as despoilers.

On the subject of warfare and of training for war the Ngoni will talk for hours. Among the many things which they mourn in the passing of the old order, they regret most the military training of youths and men, and the age-grade system which was part of it. They point out how a youth had his appointed companions to whom he stood in a recognized relationship of mutual obligation and assistance, and with these companions he went through the grades of calf-herding and cattle-herding until he graduated into a regiment. The field worker can observe how much Ngoni 'national feeling' was bound up with memories of war days, when to-day they put on their war dress and dance war dances at a chief's village. I have seen Chewa men and women huddle together during these war dances, and mutter, 'Too many Ngoni are here', as if they were still in the days of fighting and raids, while the Ngoni warriors swagger about, swishing their kilts of skins and brandishing their shields and spears with every appearance of reality. I have heard accounts of Ngoni raids for cattle going as far as the Kafue River, into the Mashukulumbwe country, given with such details of the places on the march that I think they must be substantially correct. Even if it is legendary, the recital of such raids still fosters Ngoni pride and distinction, and I have heard an old man who took part in such a raid compare it scornfully with young men going nowadays to Broken Hill and the Copper Belt. 'They go only for money', he said, 'We went for our *izidlodlo*[1] and for cattle to honour the *inkosi*'.

The Ngoni are realists and they admit that while they planted their institutions in the country and maintained most of them, at the same time a measure of adjustment was going on to the local cultures. For

[1] Head-ring, the sign of a warrior ready to marry.

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this they put the blame on the women. They point out that while they were on the march the local women they picked up, with their different language and customs, had not a great deal of influence on the community. Once they were settled, however, and married local women, those women went visiting to their own homes and took their children with them, and gradually a pronounced alien element and another language penetrated into Ngoni society. This is illustrated very well in the girls' initiation ceremonies, which differ very much in Ngoni and Chewa society. Ngoni men and women tell you with disgust how the *chinamwali*, the Chewa ceremony, began to be practised in Ngoni villages in place of the *umsindo* or *umgonxo* of the Ngoni. It was the only occasion on which I have heard them commend the action of the missionaries in putting down a custom, for they really despised the ceremonial and associations of the *chinamwali*, and rather than have it among them, they preferred outside help in putting it down.

The Ngoni dislike very much being asked point blank what cultural adjustments they made due to Chewa and other local customs. They admit reluctantly one or two minor adaptations, and proceed immediately to tell the major changes which they forced on the Chewa and others living under their rule. The chief adjustment by the Ngoni has undoubtedly been the adoption of the local language, as being the language of the women. Ngoni women of good family still speak Ngoni, but I have not found any instances of local women married to Ngoni men who have learned it. One of the perennial topics among the elders in an Ngoni village is the 'bad' influence of the women on the children. When pressed to explain the nature of this 'bad' influence, they say, 'The children are learning only the customs of the women. They cannot know about the Ngoni'. They lament the vanishing of the age-grades as the natural channels for instruction of young men in Ngoni customs, though they say with their characteristic realism, 'What is the good of having age grades and regiments when there is no war?'

If we were to attempt to reconstruct old Ngoni society as it was in the days before white contact, it is to this period, *chamtendere*, we should turn. There we can find the structure of Ngoni society, the distinctive Ngoni institutions, and Ngoni supremacy over the surrounding tribes as a reality. When the first white people arrived, as

conquer the Germans as they conquered us.' The Ngoni are by no means unaware of white political antagonism and questioned me closely about present day relations between English and Germans, and between English and Dutch in South Africa. Though they have seen from their own observation that modern warfare as practised by Europeans is entirely different from warfare as they knew it, they are nevertheless interested in war to-day as an 'instrument of national policy'.

It is from this angle that the Ngoni in Mpezeni's country regard the 'war' between them and the British in 1898. It was a trial of strength; they were defeated by superior power.[1] When the Ngoni tell the story of this war they make it clear that just as they had defeated the other tribes with their superior weapons, so it was British superiority in weapons which won the day, because their machine-guns were used with deadly force on the Ngoni warriors. The version of the fighting current in the villages was told me many times, always with a note of awe and horror at the unexpected and overwhelming catastrophe. When the British punitive force camped outside Mpezeni's kraal, the Ngoni war *induna* sent to ask if they were ready to fight. The reply was, 'Wait, the *Azungu* are eating'. Another later messenger brought back word that the *Azungu* had finished breakfast and were ready, and the companies sallied out, and the machine-guns were arranged facing the kraal exit. Then the Ngoni warriors sprang out, holding their shields before them, and were met by a hail of fire from the machine-guns. To their horror they found their invincible shields were no longer a protection. Many fell, the rest fled, and the huge village[2] was looted and burned. 'The *Azungu* war was too strong', is the way they invariably end this often repeated tale.

Overwhelming though this military catastrophe was, to the Ngoni it is the events preceding and following the 'war' on which they dwell, when in the villages they speak of this period of white contact. 'We are not ashamed for the war', they say, 'We are ashamed for losing our cattle and our land'. They tell to this day how a certain Carl Weise, a German, came up from Portuguese East Africa trading,[3]

[1] In the Report of Justice Maughan on the North Charterland Inquiry he says, 'It was a remarkably well-managed little war and the Ngoni accepted their defeat in good spirit like other Bantu races'.

[2] Over 5 miles across.

[3] in 1885.

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made friends with old Mpezeni and finally made Luangeni, Mpezeni's head village, his head-quarters. He obtained mining rights in the land from Mpezeni, by word of mouth, but Mpezeni signed no deed of gift or transfer. This legal point which subsequently became one of the major points at issue in the North Charterland Company case has been emphasized again and again to me in the villages. 'Mpezeni was writing nothing. He was only giving presents to Weise, and Weise gave presents to him, and Mpezeni was saying, "You may travel in my country and dig for gold. You are my friend."' They add further, 'Mpezeni did not want to make friends with the British because he had heard from the Matabele and from Nyasaland what they were doing. Weise said "I am not from the British", and so Mpezeni was making promises with him.' So deeply is this tradition of friendship between Mpezeni and Weise, with its consequences of betrayal and disaster, embedded in the Ngoni thinking, that when I stayed in the Paramount Chief's village and exchanged presents with him, many old people shook their heads and warned the young people, 'The *Azungu* war will come again. This is how that other war was beginning.'

Weise failed to establish his claim to mining rights in Mpezeni's territory with Sir Harry Johnston, then Commissioner for all British territories north of the Zambezi. Meantime the British South Africa Company obtained a new charter to extend its field north of the Zambezi, and sent an emissary to Mpezeni's kraal to make a treaty with him. Mpezeni refused. He also refused Sir Harry Johnston's emissary who met Weise at Mpezeni's kraal with a view to getting Mpezeni to make a treaty direct with the British Crown. The mining rights in Mpezeni's country were potentially valuable, and on Mpezeni's refusal to grant them were claimed by the British South Africa Company[1] on the ground of treaties made with the conquered Chewa people, whom Mpezeni had dispossessed.[2] Weise was at this time at Mpezeni's with one or two Portuguese traders and officials, making hay while the sun shone.

[1] 'Finding Mpezeni obdurate the British South Africa Company concluded treaties with all the surrounding indigenous chiefs whom Mpezeni had dispossessed. We consequently declined to acknowledge him as ruling chief.'

[2] F.O. 6537.

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time controlled from a mission station just inside Nyasaland, so that many people crossed to attend religious services and receive instruction. From Mpezeni's own county it is easier to get to the hospital at Fort Manning than to the one at Fort Jameson, so that people wanting European medicine tend to go to Nyasaland for treatment rather than to Fort Jameson. Nyasalanders are for their part attracted into Northern Rhodesia by the market for foodstuffs among the urban population, White and Black, of Fort Jameson and by the greater variety of goods on sale there.

Other Ngoni Groups

The Fort Jameson Ngoni are conscious of their links with the other groups of Ngoni scattered over Central Africa, and of their similarity with the Ndebele and the Swazi and Zulu. The Paramount Chief is sometimes praised by the recital in the Ngoni language of the past exploits of the Ngoni, how they crossed the Zambezi, and how they conquered one tribe after another. On one occasion I heard someone who cannot speak Ngoni praise the Paramount by repeating, in Ndebele, which is similar to Ngoni, a praise of Mzilikazi[1] which he had learnt by rote. This oration was accepted without comment by the Paramount. Lancaster has recorded a legend that Lobengula[2] fled to Mpezeni after the second Matebele War, and that he died in the country.[3] Some years after his installation Mpezeni II was visited by a delegation from Mombera, chief of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland, which, it is said, came to ratify Mpezeni's position as Chief of the Fort Jameson section of the Ngoni. An important headman in Mpezeni's county, who bears the same name as Chief Chiwere of the Ngoni of Dowa District, still claims from time to time that because his namesake and alleged relative is a chief, he too ought to be a chief.

Nsenga and Yao

The Ngoni are on more friendly terms with the Nsenga of Petauke District than with the other matrilineal tribes of the region. Some of the kinship ties that were formed as a result of intermarriage between the two tribes in the 1870's can still be traced, and their languages are similar. Mpezeni III went in 1944 with his first lieutenant and twenty-five followers to visit the Nsenga Chief Manjawanthu, and he is expected to return the invitation.

[1] The first Ndebele king. [2] Son of Mzilikazi, defeated by the Whites.
[3] Lancaster, p. 83. Cf. *British Central Africa Gazette*, 15 May 1896, p. 2, and Posselt, *Upangula the Scatterer*, pp. 112–24.

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TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI, GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

By D. Gordon Lancaster.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

These tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II, and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlatshwayo of the Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mquamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military leader. Hlatshwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Loziwawa Nqumayo, appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlatshwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna[1] for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka, brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1825.

In the same year, 1825, Soschangane, known as Manukusa, son of Sigode and a cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Loziwawa and Sosera, broke away with a following of Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their tribal area: Loziwawa and Sosera. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not as is sometimes stated a son.

[1] [induna = military leader -- Analyst]

159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
518 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukusa; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between
648 the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwizi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo.
[805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Maseko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction
[645] was made, it is said, by Gwaze Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his
[684] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Msafwa.

159 In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
173 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
643 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njekwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country
[766] and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinaluzi River. On his death bed he gave
[428] his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Sosera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

159 (2) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi".
173 She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
562 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great

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migration about 1833; her burial place is unknown. She died without issue. She was the eldest daughter of Nombhengula, who was a brother of Ziwide and Sigode, and a son of Langa Vimba Nqumayo. She was a cousin to Manukusa, son of Sigode, and to Nompetu, daughter of Ziwide, who married Matshobana, the father of Mzilikazi. Sometimes it happens that a great wife or other major wife is not blessed with children. In these cases another woman is placed in her "house" with the object of raising seed to it. The children resulting are looked upon as children of the establishment in which their mother was "placed" and are in the same position as if born to the major wife; the eldest son of a chief's "Great Wife" inherits the chieftainship of the tribe on the death of his father. This was, and is, the custom of the Ngoni; it is also known to the Achewa and Ansenga Tribes. This custom is known to the Ngoni as *Nshlanze*.

Zongendaba therefore took as *Nshlanze* Sosera Nqumayo, a younger sister of Loziwawa, and by her he had issue as follows:—Ntutu Mpezeni, the eldest son, "the Inkosana of the Indhlunkulu," Jadose, Mtwalalichi, and Ndhlohvu Makekevu. Sosera was born about 1808 near St. Lucia Bay. She migrated with the chief and followed him through all his wanderings until his death, after which she accompanied her son and heir, Ntutu Mpezeni, into what is now the Fort Jameson district. There she settled in her village called "Dingeni," where she died in 1900 and was buried near the site of the old village of Mtenguleni Uka Sosera close to the Kakolo stream; her grave is now marked by an euphorbia tree. The site is on the farm owned by Major Jefferies, O.B.E., which prior to the invasion of the Ngoni used to be the land of the Achewa chief, Kampara.

Sosera is well remembered by many natives who are living to-day, and although she died at a great age it is said that she was in possession of her full faculties until the last. She is described as being a real chieftainess and it is said that in later years if annoyed by the younger generation she would lay about her with her *mchizo* (staff) in a lusty manner. Many amusing tales are told of her astuteness and dry humour.

After Zongendaba's death, Sosera chose for a very beautiful woman, named Nthonane, who was a young sister-wife to the house and who had borne no children, one, Sawasa Mazunko, as a seed raiser, for which he received twenty head of cattle. A daughter was born and named Ndawiri Jere; she now resides in the Fort Manning District of Nyasaland and from her this information was obtained. Ndawiri looked upon Ntutu Mpezeni as her brother, and Ndawiri was, and is, looked upon as one of Zongendaba's children. She married Ndawombi, since dead, and has one son, Ndawombi Hara.

It is agreed by the old Indunas that Ntutu Mpezeni would have been about nine years of age when he crossed over the Zambesi, that he was carried across as befitted a Paramount Chief's heir, that, prior to the crossing, Zongendaba had given him a little shield and an assegai, and that he had killed his first duiker buck before the crossing. This is also borne out by the sons of Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma and Ngandu Mbawa, both of whose fathers were set the task of being servants to the chief's heir in his youth.

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159 173 [567] Zimakazi Lavu Ngoma of the Ansenga tribe worked for Sosera when he was a youth. Zimakazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chieftainess, Sosera. Zimakazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service and is about fifty years of age.

[562] [593] (3) Chibenya Mkhalapi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the *ikohlwa* wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mquamache Nzima, died, Chibenya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalu, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tole. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Machaya Imiti. Father, Nzyekezera (Njekerezera), mother and wife, not known; sons, Masakambewa and Chitete.

[554] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his [578] instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 167 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njeru; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa.

Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambose Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjazi near Mzimba.

After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed [578] by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1868. He entered Songea and died there later. Chief Ngabi Maseko was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Njekwane Ntilila. Father, Mphango, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyuwazara; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumela, Chulu, Mene, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpinduka Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1868.

(7) Mgai Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majekwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

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(8) Mguzhulu Mphanza ; one of the indunas of the Ziolomba Regiment. Crossed over the Zambesi in 1835. No further particulars known. 159 173

(9) Ntabeni Kumalo : half brother of Zongendaba. Father, Hlatshwayo : mother, unknown ; wife, Uthuvi. Regiment, Ziolomba. Died and was buried in Ufipa Country in 1846. [701]

(10) Mafu Kumalo ; elder brother of Hlatshwayo. Father, Mangangati. Killed in action prior to arrival at the Zambesi.

(11) Hlatshwayo Kumalo, the son of Mangangati of the Kumalo clan : married Mquamache Nzima. He had three brothers, Mafu, Gumete and Mphange. He was the father of Zongendaba, Ntabeni, Somfula, Mgai and Lomapela. [614]

I have been unable to ascertain if he took part in the Great Migration. My information leads me to the conclusion that he was dead before Tshaka vanquished the Ama-Ndwandwe.

(12) Mtwalu Jere : born before the Crossing of the Zambesi, about 1833 ? Father, Zongendaba ; mother, Nqutu Nzima ; wife, Magodise ; sons, Amon Jere, and Yohane Jere. Regiment, Manyoka Masoko. Refused the chieftainship because he stated that his father's, Chief Zongendaba's, last wishes had not been carried out. There is no truth in the statement that he was unfitted to hold the chieftainship through physical defects. Died in Nyasaland (Angoni Land), 1890. [643]

(13) Mombera Jere (Mbelwa) ; born at Chulu on the way to Fipa, 1840. Mother, Umnene Nzima, a Swazi ; father, Zongendaba : half-sister, Mphangela ; blood sister, Lomagazi, who it is stated by some was born before the Zambesi was crossed ; son, Chimtunga, whose mother was cast off because of adultery. Chimtunga's appointment was not recognised by his grandfather's indunas. Died in 1891, Angoni Land, Nyasaland. [684] [643]

(14) Mperembe Jere. Not born north side of the Zambesi River ; it is stated his mother did not cross the Zambesi in 1835. 159 173

Mperembe went into the Awemba Country after the break up of the tribe, but appears to have crossed back eastwards over the Loangwa River and joined Mombera and Mtwalu about 1868/9, after being badly beaten by the Chitimukulu. 643

It is known in the Mpezeni country that he captured Chanda mukulu, sister of Chitimukulu, whom he brought back with him and married at Mtelela village near the Mulowi River, that he had one son by her named Chisombo, and that after the Ngoni rebellion Chanda mukulu was returned to her own country ; she resided on the Mackera River for some years. She had slits in her ears so large that one could put one's hand through them. [583] [304]

My informant, Kayeye Phiri, who was born at Kasitu, was caught by Mombera's people at Kanyenda, Kotakota, and made a slave ; she knew Mombera and Chanda mukulu well. She is well over seventy and resides in the Fort Jameson Location. Mperembe Jere appears to have been a disgruntled and bloodthirsty despot and to have had no interests other than bloodthirsty raids and the joys of his harem. He [115] [567] [152]

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He

was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was acting chief for some years until Chimtunga was appointed.

(15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tole, Chief Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military Adviser; Mguzhulu, Induna Ziolomba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment; Mgai, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Ziolomba Regiment. Chief Gwaza Tole was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Ziolomba (black oxhide, white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibenya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Sosera Nqumayo, Great Wife; Umnene Nzima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalu; Mavocho Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigomane, Nguluwe, Ndauya Mbanzima, Mambose Gama, Vuyakhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qochiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—Nthomane, Bazyamanzya, Zin-Khabi, Nqunaeleni, Nkhaleni, Nshanya, Mabeti.

Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgai, Somfula, Mabuzyubuzyu, Ngoya, Unekwane, Uhallo, Ukhungwayo, Undlina, Mtiyane, Lomapela. Chief Diviner or *Isanusi*:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndelendele, Mombera, Maulau, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makokevu Njobvu, Mperembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadose, Sikane, Chigamane, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Muzyopa, Athungwa tribe; Lupoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimawe Jere; Mtizwa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawase Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere; Maiwape Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Swazi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife. Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of 1898. Grandson:—Chiksa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

(18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village near Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

Lupoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle kraal in Lupoko village, in 1901.

Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near Msesa Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vuhwi Valley; buried on the top of Nesawe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayungo (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machihungu, Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Masoho, Manyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambayendia, Mafelakudeni, Chimalilembalemba.

(19) The *isi-bongo*,[1] "Jere," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general use until after the death of Zongendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear to have been Kumalo, Nqumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Nzima, Gama, Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu, and Nkosi.

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa.

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-swazi.

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of "Bayete" on all official occasions and in his own home.

(20) Ba-Pule people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse with the Ngoni in isi-swazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pule; when they spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general opinion of the old indunas is that they were BaSuto people. They supplied excellent fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals.

INTERESTING NOTE re DEATH OF LOBENGULA.

Lobengula, Chief of the Amandebele. It is stated as follows.

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyererre Drift and arrived at the Mtenguleni Uka Susera village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumbersome was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the Sanjika Kopje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock.

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in 1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropu, who resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and usually all knowledge is denied of this subject.

List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 18th, 19th and 20th of January, 1935, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of Chief Zongendaba:—Banaliyo Soko, Zimajaya Mphanza, Mshamunye Mphanza, Mshawa Mwase Shawa, Dede Tole, Mjoho Mdwambi Jere, Mafwalalicho Tembo, Maenje Nkhawa, Katenda Manyumuy Makowane, Kapondeka Jaceni Mvula, Machilika Mphanza, Chhangachane Ngulowe, Chiwere Maimiwa, Maulau Jere, Mqumbaqa Mphanza, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Madalmawe, Andrew Kapatamoyo Jere, James Ndawambi Hara, Matrino Kangwere Mkhawa, Pengani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Zebabalulo Gawani Mawere, Chingulukani Hamba, Siya Mvula, Ngungu Singa Jere, Mshawa Mphanza, Mzarki Lukhelo, Njombwa Tembo, Adembwaike Mchanga, etc.

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

[2] [isitaKazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]

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Circa TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI TRIBE.

1580. Zumbo station on the Zambesi located by the Portuguese.

1760. Senzangakona born: *son of Jama and father of Tshaka.*

1770. Dingiswayo born; *chief of the Mtetwa tribe and son of Jobe.*

1775. Ziwide born: *son of Langa of the Ndwandwe tribe.*

1780. Zongendaba born; son of Hlatshwayo of the Ngoni tribe. Zumbo Station opened and abandoned by Manoel G. Pereira.

1785. Tshaka born: *son of Senzangakona of the Zulu tribe.*

1790. Mzilikazi born; *son of Mashobana of the Kumalo clan.*

1800. Accession of Dingiswayo. Loziwawa Nqumayo born; daughter of Nombhengula, the son of Ulanga Vimba.

1805. Tshaka took refuge with Dingiswayo.

1808. Sosera Nqumayo, sister of Loziwawa Nqumayo, born.

1810. Death of Senzangakona. Accession of Tshaka.

1812. Tshaka defeated the Ama Ngwana. Flight of Matiwane.

1817. Tshaka defeats the Ema Cunwini tribe. Flight of the tribe.

1818. Dingiswayo of the Mtetwa tribe killed by Ziwide.

1821. First attack by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe tribe. Nombhengula, brother of Ziwide, killed; father of Loziwawa and Sosera, wives of Chief Zongendaba; also of Nomahlanjana, Ziwide's heir; Mpepa and Dayingubo his sons were killed.

1823. Sebetwane moves off with the Nati clan. Secession of Zongendaba and his indunas, after second Ndwandwe attack by Tshaka at Nkhandhla; Ziwide's people beaten. Cattle and women seized by Tshaka and incorporated into the Zulu tribe.

1825. Secession of Mzilikazi, son of Matshobana, from Tshaka. Secession of Soschangane Manukusa, son of Sigode, younger son of Langa Vimba, Chief of the Ndwandwe tribe. Tribe vanquished by Chaka at Eldololwani Mountain between Mkuze and Pongolo Rivers. Death of Ziwide. Death of Sikunyana.

1826. Death of "Nada the Lily" (Nandi), mother of Tshaka, widow of Senzangakona, and daughter of Mbengi, Chief of the Elangeni clan. Ntutu Mpeseni born; eldest son of Chief Zongendaba by his Great Wife's (Loziwawa Nqumayo's) *Nablonze* and younger sister, Sosera Nqumayo).

1828. Zongendaba fought with Mzilikazi on the P.E. Africa Border, was beaten, and broke away into P.E. Africa near the Limpopo River, where he met and united himself with Manukusa and his brother, Mhlahawadabuka. Death of Tshaka. Death of Matiwane.

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Circa

1829. David Hume visited Mzilikazi at Marico. Rev. Moffat visited Mzilikazi at Limpopo R. Lobengula born; son of Mzilikazi by his Swazi wife, Fulata, daughter of Chief Malendela of the Ama-Swazi.

1830. Dingaan's impis fight Mzilikazi without result to either side.

1831. Mzilikazi at Thaba Bosigo; attacks the BaSuto, but without success.

1832. Mzilikazi at Mosega. Mtwalu born; son of Zongendaba by his wife, Nqutu, younger sister of Umsilwe.

1833. Manukusa defeated and drove the Portuguese from Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques). Fight between Manukusa and Zongendaba. Zongendaba and Mhlahawadabuka left Manukusa and migrated in a northerly direction. Death of Loaiwawa Nqumayo, Great Wife of Zongendaba.

1834. Mzilikazi at Kapaying. On what is now the S. Rhodesia-Portuguese (Mozambique) border, Zongendaba broke with Mhlahawadabuka, brother of Manukusa, and proceeded in a north-westerly direction where he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai. A fight took place at Inqwekwizi River where the latter were destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba zi-Ka-Mambo.

1835. In November the Ngoni under the leadership of Chiefs Zongendaba and Gwana crossed over the Ukwembe (Zambesi) River at the Manyerere Drift. Ngabi Maseko quarrelled and did not cross but travelled along the south bank and at a later date, 1838, crossed the river in the vicinity of Tete. The date of crossing was marked by an eclipse.

1836. Ngoni settled in the Ansenga country. Sofala plundered and destroyed by Manukusa. Mzilikazi's Matebele attack the Boers at Vechkop. Harris and others met Mzilikazi at Mosega.

1837. Chief Umtigana, Dingaan's induna, fought with Mzilikazi and captured numerous cattle, but left an impi dead on the field. Mosega burnt out by the Boers. Mzilikazi moves out of the Transvaal. Fulata Swazi, wife of Chief Mzilikazi and daughter of the Swazi chief, Malendela, and Mother of "Ningi" and Lobengula, died near the Limpopo River.
At the end of this year the Matabele entered what is now S. Rhodesia, "Walale."

1838. Bands of roving Ama-Swazi defeated and incorporated by Mzilikazi.

1840. Mombera (Mbelwa), son of Zongendaba by his wife Umaeno, born at Chulu, Nyasaland. Ngoni in the Rukuru Valley.

1842. Arrival of the Ngoni in the Ufipa country.

1845. Local raids.

1848. Death of Zongendaba at Mapupu in the Ufipa country. Buried near the Nyimbizi River. Break up of the Tribe.

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Circa

1846. Death of Ntabeni in U'fipa country.

1847. Death of Gwaza Tole in U'fipa country. Northward trek of a body of Ngoni led by Mgai.

1848. Ngoni at Victoria Nyanza.

1849. Death of Mgai in Sukuma country. Zulu Gama and his people broke away into Songea. They were followed by Mombera's adherents, who caught them up. Mombera's people badly beaten; the fight took place near Old Langenburg. Mombera returned.

1850. Mpezeni and Mperembe break away and enter the Wiza and Wemba country. Mombera and Mtwalu move to the Henga country.

1855. Mombera's Ngoni in the Tumbuka country in the vicinity of Hora Mountain.

1856. Mpezeni skirted the Wemba country on southward migration and raided Wiza and Lala tribes en route, east of Bangweulu.

1858. Death of Manukusa; his son, Maweva, succeeds him.

1860. Mpezeni's Ngoni at Cheronga on the Mchinga escarpment where an encampment was made, crops were grown, and local natives raided for slaves. Maweva defeated by Mzila, son of Manukusa.

1861. Mzila takes chieftainship.

1861. Uloziba, Great Wife of Mzilikazi, died at Inyati, Oct. 5th, 1861.

1862. Zumbo Boma re-occupied by Albino Manuel Pacheeho.

1865. Mpezeni's Ngoni at Mkoma and Mbangombe Hills. Further encampment. Tsingu Jere born, son of Mpezeni Jere by his wife, Lupoko.

1868. Zula Gama crossed the Shire river, 5th September. Death of Chief Mzilikazi at Inyati. Mpezeni at Mpinduka Hill, Matambadzi Stream. Death of Induna Njekwane. Mperembe's Ngoni defeated by the combined forces of Arab traders and Wemba near Chikumbo, Lake Bangweulu district.

1869. Mombera turned back, crossed the Luangwa river and joined Mtwalu and Mperembe in the Tumbuka country.

1870. Lobengula, son of Mzilikazi by his wife, Fulata, crowned King of the Ama-Tebele.

1873. Mpezeni at Mtenguleni-Uka-Sosera V. at the Lutembwe. R. Mpezeni at the Msipazi river.

[754] 1878. "Ningi," sister of Lobengula, murdered on an alleged charge of witchcraft, causing Lobengula's wife, Losekeyi, to have a still born child.

1880. Massacre of the Tumbuka on Hora Mountain by Mombera's Ngoni.

1881. Mpezeni at Langeni Village. Visited by Carl Wiese.

1884. Death of Mzila, known to the Ngoni as Kaulandwa.

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Circa

1889. Mpezeni visited by Sir Alfred Sharp.

1890. Death of Mtwalu.

1891. Death of Mombera. Chikusi, son of Mputa, deposed. Mperembe acting chief of Mombera's Ngoni.

1893. Birth of Chilusa Mpezeni Jere, son of Tsingu Jere by his wife, Nkuphwa. Matebele War.

1894. Death of Lobengula Kumalo.

1895. Ngungunyana, King of the Abu-Gaza, deposed by the Portuguese.

1896. Matabele Rebellion. Defeat of Mwase at Kasungu by Alston and Swann.

1897. Ngoni Revolt. British South Africa Company at Chinunda (Fort Jameson Dist.)

1898. Mpezeni surrenders; exiled to Fort Manning. Tsingu Jere captured and shot. Nkuchwa, his wife, shot by Lt. Poole's troop in the Vubwi Valley. Revolt ended. Fort Jameson established.

1900. Mpezeni I. released and returned to his village. Death of Mpezeni I. Death of Soora Nqumayo, mother of Ntutu Mpezeni Jere (Mpezeni I) and widow of Chief Zongendaba.

1901. Succession of Chilusa Mpezeni II (Jere).

1903. Chief Madzimawe claims the name of Zongendaba, but is refused by the Government.

1904. Death of Lupoko, wife of Mpezeni, at Lupoko village.

1908. Death of Ngungunyana.

1925. Chilusa Mpezeni II present at the indaba given in honour of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales at Broken Hill, N. Rhodesia.

1934. The Paramount, Chilusa Mpezeni II, presented with his "Staff of Office" by H.R.H. Prince George at Livingstone, N. Rhodesia.

1935. Great meeting of old Ngoni chiefs with Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, to discuss the chief's ancestors and the crossing of the Zambesi river in 1835. This being the Centenary. The Ngoni were well acquainted with native dug-outs (boats) before they left their tribal area which is now known as Northern Rhodesia. [501]

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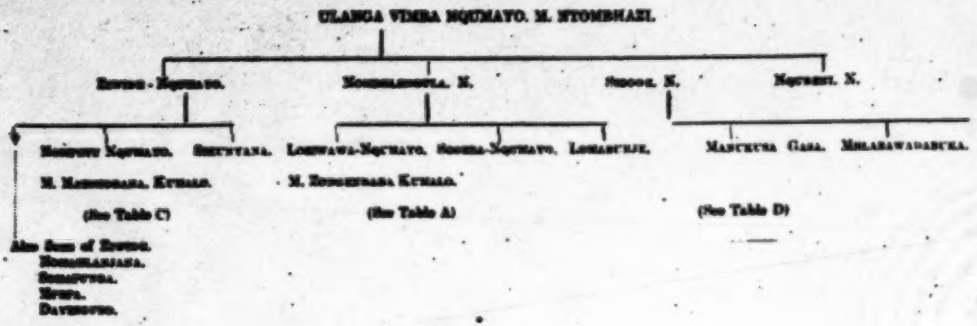
Authorities consulted:—Bryant; Elliott; Seymour; Thomas; Marshall Hole; Theal.

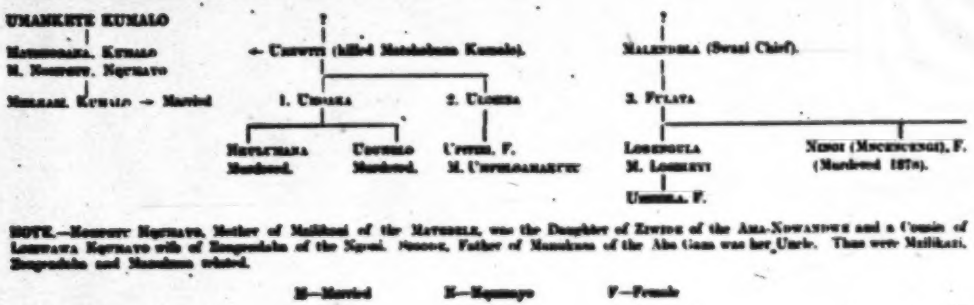
GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE NGONI LINE. (A.)

K—Kumalo
M—Married

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE AMA-NDWANDWE TRIBE. (B.)



GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE MATABELE LINE. (C.)



NOTE.—Nompehu Ngwayo, Mother of Mzilikazi of the Matabele, was the Daughter of Zwide of the Ama-Ndwandwe and a Cousin of Lobengula Ngwayo wife of Ingqondolo of the Ngoni. Sidoli, Father of Mashobana of the Abe Gasa was her Uncle. Thus were Mzilikazi, Ingqondolo and Mashobana related.

M—Married N—Nguayo F—Female

D. Gordon Lancaster.—Tentative Chronology of the Ngoni.

Hi Lancaster G-5 (ca. 1935) 1937 FRS Ngoni FRS

Ndebele F54

Ni Ne 193

● 173

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF ABA-GAZA. LINE. (D.)

ULAMBA YIMBA NQUMAYO

M. Nyoshwaki

Nyoshe

Mahuhwa Gasa — Mulabawabadoba

Mbila — Mwabva. Eldest son deposed.

Mo'shoutana

Mpugara

GENEALOGY OF SOME NGONI CHIEFS. (E.)

MANABA KUMALO

Lovanda Kumalo

Mangangati Kumalo

Mpandor K. M. Mantuwabana

Chapuhila. Chule. Mene. Mabwe. Nokwane Kumalo ... M. Mpondaloso. Nombwani. Hove.

Kapatamoto Jere. ... M. Nyampemo' Mapulana

Kapatamoto Jere II.

MANABA KUMALO

Lovanda Kumalo

Mangangati Kumalo

Hlathiwayo Kumalo

Nomtula Kumalo M. Maguna who re-married Mbotwane.

Mabenba Jere — Molenyeni.....Mpeke

MANABA] KUMALO

Lovanda K.

Mangangati K.

Hlathiwayo K.

Zopompaba. K. M. Umpepe Nema

Mpelwa (Mombera)

Regency of Mpezembe.

Chintuda.—Mombera's Indunas disagreed over this appointment because Mombera had cast off Chintunga's mother for adultery.
Deposed by Nyasaland Government 1915.

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K.—Kumalo
M.—Married